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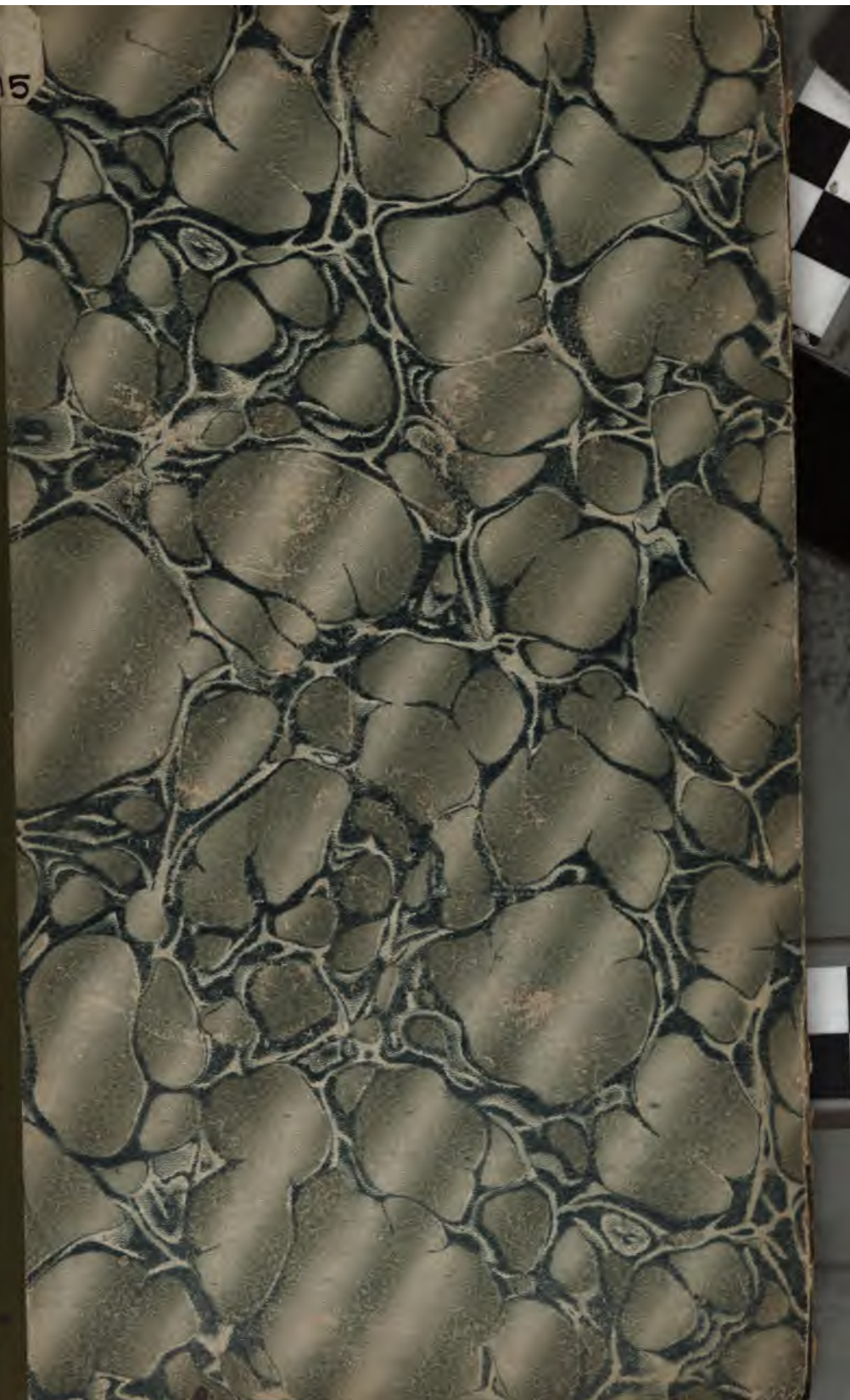
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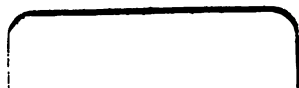
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FROM

Stedman B. Hoar



SELF-GOVERNMENT IN LOUISIANA.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. LOGAN,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 13 AND 14, 1875.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1875.

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Stedman B. Hoar

S P E E C H
OF
H O N . J O H N A . L O G A N .

The Senate having under consideration the resolution submitted by Mr. SCHURZ on the 8th of January, directing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire what legislation is necessary to secure to the people of the State of Louisiana their rights of Self-government under the Constitution—

Mr. LOGAN said :

Mr. PRESIDENT: I believe it is considered the duty of a good sailor to stand by his ship in the midst of a great storm. We have been told in this Chamber that a great storm of indignation is sweeping over this land, which will rend asunder and sink the old republican craft. We have listened to denunciations of the President, of the republicans in this Chamber, of the republican party as an organization, their acts heretofore and their purposes in reference to acts hereafter, of such a character as has seldom been listened to in this or any other legislative hall. Every fact on the side of the republican party has been perverted, every falsehood on the part of the opposition has been exaggerated, arguments have been made here calculated to inflame and arouse a certain class of the people of this country against the authorities of the Government, based not upon truth but upon manufactured statements which were utterly false. The republican party has been characterized as despotic, as tyrannical, as oppressive. The course of the Administration and the party toward the southern people has been denounced as of the most tyrannical character by men who have received clemency at the hands of this same party.

Now, sir, what is the cause of all this vain declamation? What is the cause of all this studied denunciation? What is the reason for all these accusations made against a party or an administration? I may be mistaken, but, if I am not, this is the commencement of the campaign of 1876. It has been thought necessary on the part of the opposition Senators here to commence, if I may use a homely phrase, a raid upon the republican party and upon this Administration, and to base that upon false statements in reference to the conduct of affairs in the State of Louisiana.

I propose in this debate, and I hope I shall not be too tedious, though I may be somewhat so, to discuss the question that should be presented to the American people. I propose to discuss that question fairly, candidly, and truthfully. I propose to discuss it from a just, honest, and legal stand-point. Sir, what is that question? There was a resolution offered in this Chamber calling on the President to furnish certain information. A second resolution was introduced, (whether for the purpose of hanging on it an elaborate speech or not I am not aware,) asking the Committee on the Judiciary to report at once some legislation in reference to Louisiana. Without any facts presented officially arguments have been made, the country has been aroused,

and some people have announced themselves in a manner calculated to produce a very sore feeling against the course and conduct of the party in power. I say this is done without the facts; without any basis whatever; without any knowledge officially communicated to them in reference to the conduct of any of the parties in the State of Louisiana. In discussing this question we ought to have a stand-point; we ought to have a beginning; some point from which we may all reason and see whether or not any great outrage has been perpetrated against the rights of the American people or any portion of them.

I then propose to start at this point, that there is a government in the State of Louisiana. Whether that government is a government of right or not is not the question. Is there a government in that State against which treason, insurrection, or rebellion may be committed? Is there such a government in the State of Louisiana as should require the maintenance of peace and order among the citizens of that State? Is there such a government in the State of Louisiana as requires the exercise of Executive authority for the purpose of preserving peace and order within its borders? I ask any Senator on this floor to-day if he can stand up here as a lawyer, as a Senator, as an honest man, and deny the fact that a government does exist? Whether he calls it a government *de jure* or a government *de facto*, it is immaterial. It is such an organization as involves the liberties and the protection of the rights of the people of that State. It will not do for Senators to talk about the election of 1872. The election of 1872 has no more to do with this "military usurpation" than you speak of to-day than an election of a hundred years ago. It is not a question as to whether this man or that was elected. The question is, is there such a government there as can be overturned, and has there been an attempt to overturn it? If so, then what is required to preserve its status or preserve the peace and order of the people?

But the other day when I asked the question of a Senator on the other side, who was discussing this question, whether or not he indorsed the Penn rebellion, he answered me in a playful manner that excited the mirth of people who did not understand the question, by saying that I had decided that there was no election, and that therefore there was no government to overturn. Now I ask Senators, I ask men of common understanding if that is the way to treat a question of this kind; when asked whether insurrection against a government recognized is not an insurrection and whether he indorses it, he says there is no government to overturn. If there is no government to overturn, why do you make this noise and confusion about a Legislature there? If there is no State government, there is no State Legislature. But I will not answer in that manner. I will not avoid the issue; I will not evade the question. I answer there is a Legislature, as there is a State government, recognized by the President, recognized by the Legislature, recognized by the courts, recognized by one branch of Congress, and recognized by the majority of the citizens by their recognition of the laws of the State; and it will not do to undertake to avoid questions in this manner.

Let us see, then, starting from that stand-point, what the position of Louisiana is now, and what it has been. On the 14th day of September last a man by the name of Penn, as to whom we have official information this morning, with some seven or ten thousand white-leaguers made war against that government, overturned it, dispersed it, drove the governor from the executive chamber, and he had to take refuge under the jurisdiction of the Government of the United

States, on the soil occupied by the United States custom-house, where the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States Government extends, for the purpose of protecting his own life.

This then was a revolution; this then was a rebellion; this then was treason against the State, for which these men should have been arrested, tried, and punished. Let gentlemen dodge the question as they may; it may be well for some men there who engaged in this treasonable act against the Government that they had Mr. Kellogg for governor. It might not have been so well for them, perhaps, had there been some other man in his place. I tell the Senator from Maryland if any crowd of armed men should undertake to disperse the government of the State of Illinois, drive its governor from the executive chamber, enter into his private drawers, take his private letters, and publish them, and act as those men did, some of them would pay the penalty either in the penitentiary or by dancing at the end of a rope.

But when this rebellion was going on against that State, these gentlemen say it was a State affair; the Government of the United States has nothing to do with it! That is the old-fashioned secession doctrine again. The Government of the United States has nothing to do with it! This National Government is made up of States, and each State is a part of the Government, each is a part of its life, of its body. It takes them all to make up the whole; and treason against any part of it is treason against the whole of it, and it became the duty of the President to put it down, as he did do; and, in putting down that treason against the Kellogg government, the whole country almost responded favorably to his action.

But our friend from Maryland, not in his seat now, [Mr. HAMILTON] said that that was part of the cause of the elections going as they did. In other words, my friend from Maryland undertook in a round-about way to endorse the Penn rebellion, and claim that people of the country did the same thing against the government of the State of Louisiana, and on this floor since this discussion has been going on, not one Senator on that side of the chamber has lisped one word against the rebellion against the government of the State of Louisiana, and all who have spoken of it have passed it by in silence so as to indicate clearly that they endorse it, and I believe they do.

Then, going further, the President issued his proclamation requiring those insurgents to lay down their arms and to resume their peaceful pursuits. This morning we have heard read at the clerk's desk that these men have not yet complied fully with that proclamation. Their rebellious organization continued up to the time of the election and at the election. When the election took place, we are told by some of these Senators that the election was a peaceable, and a fair election, that a majority of democrats were elected. That is the question we propose to discuss as well as we are able to do it. They tell us that there was no intimidation resorted to by any one in the State of Louisiana. I dislike very much to follow out these statements that are not true and attempt to controvert them because it does seem to me that we ought to act fairly and candidly in this Chamber and discuss questions without trying to pervert the issue or the facts in connection with it.

Now, I state it as a fact, and I appeal to the Senator from Louisiana to say whether or not I state truly, that on the night before the election in Louisiana notices were posted all over that country on the doors of the colored republicans and the white republicans, too, of a character giving them to understand that if they voted

their lives would be in danger; and here is one of the notices posted all over that country :



2 x 6

This "2 x 6" was to show the length and width of the grave they would have. Not only that, but the negroes that they could impose upon and get to vote the democratic ticket received, after they had voted, a card of safety; and here is that card issued to the colored people whom they had induced to vote the democratic ticket, so that they might present it if any white-leaguers should undertake to plunder or murder them :



NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 28, 1874.

This is to certify that Charles Durassa, a barber by occupation, is a Member of the 1st Ward Colored Democratic Club, and that at the late election he voted for and worked in the interests of the Democratic Candidates.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER,

President 1st Ward Col'd Democratic Club.

NICK HOPE, Secretary.

ROOMS DEMOCRATIC PARISH COMMITTEE,

New Orleans, Nov. 28, 1874.

The undersigned, Special Committee, appointed on behalf of the Parish Committee, approve of the above Certificate.

ED. FLOOD, Chairman.

PAUL WATERMAN.

H. J. RIVET.

ATTEST:

J. H. HARDY, Ass't Secretary Parish Committee.

These were the certificates given to negroes who voted the democratic ticket, that they might present them to save their lives when attacked by the men commonly known as Ku-Klux or white-leaguers in that country; and we are told that there is no intimidation in the State of Louisiana!

Our friend from Georgia [Mr. GORDON] has been very profuse in his declamation as to the civility and good order and good bearing of the people of Louisiana and the other Southern States. But, sir, this intimidation continued up to the election. After the election, it was necessary for the governor of that State to proceed in some manner best calculated to preserve the peace and order of the country. Certain men were known to be elected to the Legislature, and one person elected to a State office. I ask now, in furtherance of what I am say-

ing in reference to intimidation, that the Secretary read from one of the journals of Louisiana a statement, made after the election, to show that the intimidation still continued.

The Chief Clerk read as follows :

SHREVEPORT, November 16, 1874.

The following extracts from an editorial in the Times yesterday but faintly reflect sentiments expressed in a hundred speeches made in Northern Louisiana by prominent White League leaders before and since the election :

"We want no representative on the returning board, no favors or concessions from Kellogg and Packard. * * * We know the results of the election in every parish. * * * Therefore we should simply give the members of that board to distinctly understand that unless they return the elections as they were returned at the polls, they and those they seek to count in will pay the forfeit with their lives. We have no appeals to make to our fellow-citizens of New Orleans. We know that the men of the 14th of September will do their whole duty as freemen and Louisianians jealous of their liberties; but throughout the country parishes there should be concert of action, and that action should be prompt and emphatic. In every parish where the officers elected by the people may be counted out by the returning board, the people should use hemp or ball on the defeated candidates counted in.

"To localize the proposition: If George L. Smith is counted in over W. M. Levy, or if Twitchell is counted in over Elam, let Smith and Twitchell be killed. If Johnson and Tyler, in De Soto, are counted in over Scales and Schuler, as the New Orleans Republican thinks; or if Keating, Levisse, and Johnson, in Caddo, are counted in over Vaughn, Horan, and Land, then let Johnson, Tyler, Keating, Levisse, and Johnson be killed. And so let every officer, from Congressman down to constable, in every district and parish of the State, be served, whom the people have defeated and whom the returning board may count in. We cannot afford to be defeated by a ring of political scoundrels after we have triumphed. * * * Human life may be precious; but the lives of all these carpet-baggers and radical politicians in Louisiana are valueless, compared with the worth of a single principle of justice and liberty."

Mr. LOGAN. Now, Mr. President, in the face of what has been said on this floor, a kind of sport-making of the statements of intimidation of the voters of the South, am I not justified in bringing forward this statement? What is it? That if certain men, republicans, are announced as elected to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, they shall be murdered. Murdered; why? Murdered because they are republicans, elected to the legislature of a sovereign State, naming the men; that, if the returning board announce their election, they shall be murdered! Yet our democratic friends on the other side sneer at the idea of republicans being intimidated or murdered on account of their peculiar notions in the Southern States. This was in the State of Louisiana, and Louisiana is the State with which we are dealing now, and not the State of Georgia. I here will say for the benefit of my friend from Georgia—for I am his friend personally—that he is in the habit of bringing Georgia in all the time when we talk about intimidation, alleging that Georgia is peaceful. I will speak to that before I am through; I am now confining my attention to Louisiana.

If we take into consideration this declaration in one of the leading newspapers; if we take into consideration the notices given to the people all over the country on the day before the election; if we take into consideration the Penn rebellion of the 14th of September; and if we then go back for a period and take into view the bloody riot in New Orleans in 1866, when a convention was being assembled in that State, what are we to conclude? In 1866 these same men went into that convention and killed and wounded over two hundred, as I have the authentic report, made by the medical officers who examined the killed and wounded on that occasion, to show. Some thirty-odd were killed, and the rest, amounting to over two hundred, were wounded on that occasion. Why? Because they went in convention to de-

clare their views in reference to certain propositions. If we take all this into consideration and then follow it down until we come to the massacre at Colfax, what was that? I have here a pamphlet published, containing extracts from one of the papers in the State of Louisiana, the New Orleans Times, and I will read from it in regard to that transaction:

Sunday night, shortly after dark, the boat landed at a wood-pile about a mile above Colfax, Grant Parish, and a young fellow, armed to the teeth and very much excited, came aboard and requested the captain to land at Colfax and take some wounded white men to Alexandria, about twenty-five miles farther down the river.

On arriving at Colfax we found about a hundred armed men on the bank, and most of the passengers, myself among the number, went ashore to view the "battle-ground," for our young friend who came aboard at the wood-pile informed us "that if we wanted to see dead niggers, here was a chance, for there were a hundred or so scattered over the village and the adjacent fields," and he kindly offered to guide us to the scene of action.

Almost as soon as we got to the top of the landing, sure enough we began to stumble on them, most of them lying on their faces, and, as I could see by the dim light of the lanterns, riddled with bullets.

One poor wretch, a stalwart-looking fellow, had been in the burning court-house, and as he ran out with his clothes on fire had been shot. His clothes to his waist were all burned off, and he was literally broiled.

We came upon bodies every few steps, but the sight of this fellow who was burned, added to the horrible smell of burning human flesh—the remains of those who were shot in the court-house, which was still on fire—sickened most of us and caused a general cry of "Let's go back."

I counted eighteen of the misguided darkies, and was informed that they were not one-fourth of the number killed; that they were scattered here and there in the fields around the town, besides several in and around the burning court-house. This, however, was probably an exaggeration.

To show how terribly incensed the people were against the negroes, I relate the following incidents:

We came across one negro whose clothes were smoking, and who had probably been in the fire. Some of our party remarked that he was alive. Instantly one of our guides whipped out a six-shooter, saying "I'll finish the black dog." Of course we remonstrated and he put away his weapon. Some one stooped down and turned the negro over. He was stiff and cold.

A few minutes afterward we came on a big black fellow who was reclining on his elbow, and to all appearances alive. The man with the six-shooter hit him a fierce kick with his boot, and then stooped down and examined him, saying: "O, he's dead as hell." It was so; the darky died that way—in a reclining position.

When we came back near the landing the boat's crew were carrying aboard the two wounded white men, a Mr. Hadnot and another whose name I did not learn.

Sir, I ask you what Governor Kellogg was to do after the scene of 1866, after that horrible scene at Colfax; after the taking possession of five persons at Coushatta, northern men who had gone there with their capital and invested it and built up a thriving little village, but who were taken out and murdered in cold blood; and not only that, but they had murdered one of the judges and the district-attorney, and compelled the judge and district attorney of that jurisdiction to resign, and then murdered the acting district attorney. My friend from Georgia said in his way and manner of saying things, "Why do you not try these people for murdering those men at Coushatta?" You have the judge and you have the district attorney? Unfortunately for my friend's statement, we have neither. Your friends had murdered the attorney, and had murdered a judge before the new judge had been appointed, who had to resign to save his life. The acting district attorney was murdered by the same "banditti" that murdered the five northern men at Coushatta.

Mr. GORDON. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. GORDON. Where was the United States court at that time? Where was the enforcement act? Where was the Army of the United States? Could not the United States court under the enforce-

ment act take cognizance of these facts? Was the district attorney of the United States court not present?

Mr. LOGAN. I will inform the Senator where they were. The district attorney was in his grave, put there by your political friends. The judge had been murdered a year before. The one appointed in his place had to resign to save his life. The United States court was in New Orleans. And he asks where was the United States Army? Great God! do you want the Army? I thought you had been railing against its use. [Laughter.]

Mr. GORDON. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him just one moment?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. GORDON. I confess to the Senator now that I am overwhelmed. When he comes at me with that argument I am utterly undone. It is always easier to attack the defeated; it is always easier for power to triumph than for truth; but truth will prevail in the end. If the Senator thinks by a thrust such as he has given that he makes any capital for himself or his party, he is altogether welcome to it.

Mr. LOGAN. I am not trying to make capital for myself nor for my party. I am trying to develop the facts and let them make capital for whoever they may. But when the Senator talks about thrusts, let him remember that he has stood upon this floor himself every day uttering denunciatory sentences against the republicans and against the Government of the United States.

Mr. GORDON. I defy the Senator to find one solitary word in any utterance of mine against the Government of the United States or against any man in authority except the miserable people who are plundering mine. He has made the charge; I ask him now to make it good or to withdraw it—one of the two.

Mr. LOGAN. Ah well, the Senator need not commence talking to me about withdrawing.

Mr. GORDON. Very well.

Mr. LOGAN. I am not of that kind.

Mr. GORDON. I want to ask the Senator—

The PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. INGALLS in the chair.) The Senator from Georgia will suspend. Does the Senator from Illinois consent to be interrupted?

Mr. GORDON. If the Senator will allow me to explain, I only want to say to the Senator that I think, as he has made a very grave charge against myself, it is due to him and due to a brother Senator that he make that charge specific, so that I may have the opportunity of answering it.

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. GORDON. If he has done me the injustice, I say I think it is due to his character that, when he finds out he has done so, he withdraw the charge.

Mr. LOGAN. I always do that when I find out that I have done any one injustice. I said that the Senator had stood upon this floor time and again in denunciation of republicans and the republican party, and I repeat it.

Mr. GORDON. The Senator said "the Government," also.

Mr. LOGAN. When I said "the Government" I meant the Administration—those who administer the Government or its affairs. I do not mean the Government, but I mean the Administration, which others here have denominated the Government. That is what I mean.

Mr. GORDON. Will the Senator just be kind enough to show that?

Mr. LOGAN. Now the Senator will just be kind enough to say this: If he desires to answer anything I have said, he will have ample opportunity to do it, and I will treat him in the same spirit in which he treats other men. If he treats other men kindly, in a kindly spirit will I respond to him. If he treats other men in a denunciatory tone, I tell him that is a game two can play at.

I was speaking in reference to those things that have occurred in Louisiana, and now I desire to come to the point that I intended to reach by these propositions. It is this: Taking all these statements in reference to these riots, in reference to the bloodshed, in reference to the murders at these different points, and the rebellion of the 14th September, 1874, with arms in their hands, and considering the condition of the Legislature at the time it assembled, I ask you if all these circumstances surrounding the governor of that State were not sufficient to put him on his guard and notify him that force might be used to overturn that government, and that for the purpose of repelling that force he might be necessitated to exercise and use force?

What are the facts, then? Did the governor of Louisiana use force? From what has been said in this Chamber and has rung through the country like the peals from the distant bell, you would think that this Senate, the President, and the republican party had murdered a State and were murdering the liberties of the American people. What are the facts? I assert that Kellogg was justified in believing that force was going to be used to overturn the State government of Louisiana, and I go further. I state it to be a fact that that Legislature when it met and organized under Wiltz was a revolutionary body in revolution against the laws of the State of Louisiana.

Not one of the Senators here who have been talking about Louisiana and the outrages perpetrated there has referred to the law of the State in reference to the organization of the State Legislature. In order that we may understand ourselves as we go along—it is well enough for us to keep track of things and see whether we are getting off the line or whether we are remaining on the line—I will now call the attention of the Senate of the United States to the law of the State of Louisiana in relation to the organization of the State Legislature, and then after that I will take up the facts of the organization of this Legislature and see whether they comport with the law on that subject. The law of that State, after providing for a returning board of so many officers who are to receive the polls, count the votes, and declare who are elected by the voters of the State or of the district, declares that they shall then certify to the facts to the secretary of state. On that certificate to the secretary of state, he is to take such action in regard to the Legislature as I will read. Section 56 of the act in reference to regulating the conduct and freedom and purity of elections is as follows:

Be it further enacted, &c., That it shall be the duty of the secretary of state to transmit to the clerk of the house of representatives and the secretary of the senate of the last General Assembly a list of the names of such persons as, according to the returns, shall have been elected to either branch of the General Assembly, and it shall be the duty of said clerk and secretary to place the names of the representatives and senators-elect, so furnished, upon the roll of the house and of the senate, respectively, and those representatives and senators whose names are so placed by the clerk and secretary respectively, in accordance with the foregoing provisions, and none other, shall be competent to organize the house of representatives or senate.

Those who hold the certificate of the secretary of state transmitted to the clerk of the old house and none other shall be competent to organize the State Legislature of the State of Louisiana. Now

I appeal to the learned Senator from Delaware [Mr. BAYARD] who made a speech the other day, strong in its character and denunciatory in its tone of General Sheridan and other men, and I ask him what this law means when it says that the persons holding the certificate of the secretary of state and none other shall organize the Legislature of the State of Louisiana? I would like to know does that mean that other persons not holding the certificate should do it? Certainly not. It excludes all men except those holding the certificate of the secretary of state.

Well, sir, what are the facts? Let us now have the facts. I have the report of General Sheridan giving the facts of the organization of that Legislature and I will ask that it be read. I also have the report of a committee of five of that Legislature, organized for the purpose of making an official report to the Congress of the United States. I hold that in my hand but I will not take time to read it. It corroborates in every word the statement of General Sheridan's report. I ask now for the reading of that report by the Clerk.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF MISSOURI,
New Orleans, January 8. (Received three a. m.)

Hon. W. W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War, Washington D. C.:

I have the honor to submit the following brief report of affairs as they occurred here in the organization of the State Legislature on January 4, 1875. I was not in command of this military department until nine o'clock at night on the 4th instant, but I fully indorse and am willing to be held responsible for the acts of the military as conservators of the public peace upon that day.

During the few days I was in the city prior to the 4th of January the general topic of conversation was the scenes of bloodshed that were liable to occur on that day, and I repeatedly heard threats of assassinating the governor and regrets expressed that he was not killed on the 14th of September last; also threats of the assassination of republican members of the house, in order to secure the election of a democratic speaker. I also knew of the kidnaping by the banditti of Mr. Cousinier, one of the members-elect of the Legislature!

In order to preserve the peace and to make the State-house safe for the peaceable assembling of the Legislature, General Emory, upon the requisition of the governor, stationed troops in the vicinity of the building. Owing to these precautions the Legislature assembled in the State-house without any disturbance of the public peace. At twelve o'clock William Vigers, the clerk of the last house of representatives, proceeded to call the roll, as according to law he was empowered to do. One hundred and two legally-returned members answered to their names; of this number fifty-two were republicans, and fifty were democrats.

Before entering the house Mr. L. A. Wiltz had been selected in caucus as the democratic nominee for speaker and Mr. Michael Hahn as the republican nominee. Vigers had not yet finished announcing the result, when one of the members, Mr. Billican, of Lafourche, nominated Mr. L. Wiltz as temporary speaker. Vigers promptly declared the motion out of order at that time, when some one put the question, and, amid the cheers of the democratic side of the house, Mr. Wiltz dashed on to the platform, pushed aside Mr. Vigers, seized the speaker's chair and gavel, and declared himself speaker.

A protest against this arbitrary and unlawful proceeding was promptly made by the members of the majority, but Wiltz paid no attention to those protests, and, upon a motion from some one on the democratic side of the house, declared one Trezevant nominated and elected clerk of the house. Mr. Trezevant at once sprang forward and occupied the clerk's chair, amid the wildest confusion over the whole house. Wiltz then again, on another nomination from the democratic side of the house, declared one Floord elected sergeant-at-arms, and ordered that a certain number of assistants be appointed. Instantly a large number of men throughout the hall, who had been admitted on various pretexts, such as reporters and members' friends and spectators, turned down the lapels of their coats, upon which were pinned blue-ribbon badges, on which were printed in gold letters the words, "assistant sergeant-at-arms," and the assembly was in the possession of the minority, and the White League of Louisiana had made good its threats of seizing the house, many of the assistant sergeant-at-arms being well known as captains of White League companies in this city.

Notwithstanding the suddenness of this movement, the leading republican mem-

bers had not failed to protest again and again against this revolutionary action of the minority, but all to no purpose; and many of the republicans rose and left the house in a body, together with the clerk, Mr. Vigers, who carried with him the original roll of the house as returned by the secretary of state.

The excitement was now very great. The acting speaker directed the sergeant-at-arms to prevent the egress or ingress of members or others, and several exciting scuffles, in which knives and pistols were drawn, took place, and for a few moments it seemed that bloodshed would ensue. At this juncture Mr. Dupre, a democratic member from the parish of Orleans, moved that the military power of the General Government be invoked to preserve the peace, and that a committee be appointed to wait upon General De Trobriand, the commanding officer of the United States troops stationed at the State-house, and request his assistance in clearing the lobby. The motion was adopted. A committee of five, of which Mr. Dupre was made chairman, was sent to wait upon General De Trobriand and soon returned with that officer, who was accompanied by two of his staff officers.

As General De Trobriand walked down to the speaker's desk loud applause burst from the democratic side of the house. General De Trobriand asked the acting speaker if it was not possible for him to preserve order without appealing to him as a United States Army officer. Mr. Wiltz said it was not, whereupon the general proceeded to the lobby, and addressing a few words to the crowd, peace was at once restored. On motion of Mr. Dupre, Mr. Wiltz then, in the name of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, thanked General De Trobriand for his interference in behalf of law and order, and the general withdrew.

The republicans had now generally withdrawn from the hall, and united in signing a petition to the governor stating their grievances and asking his aid, which petition, signed by fifty-two legally-returned members of the house, is in my possession. Immediately, subsequent to the action of Mr. Wiltz in ejecting the clerk of the old house, Mr. Billien moved that two gentlemen from the parish of De Soto, one from Winn, one from Bienville, and one from Iberia, who had not been returned by the returning board, be sworn in as members; and they were accordingly sworn in by Mr. Wiltz, and took seats upon the floor as members of the house. A motion was now made that the house proceed with its permanent organization; and accordingly the roll was called by Mr. Trezevant, the acting clerk, and Wiltz was declared elected speaker and Trezevant clerk of the house.

Acting on the protest made by the majority, the governor now requested the commanding general of the department to aid him in restoring order and enable the legally-returned members of the house to proceed with its organization according to law. This request was reasonable and in accordance with law. Remembering vividly the terrible massacre that took place in this city on the assembling of the constitutional convention in 1866 at the Mechanics' Institute, and believing that the lives of the members of the Legislature were or would be endangered in case an organization under the law was attempted, the posse was furnished, with the request that care should be taken that no member of the Legislature returned by the returning board should be ejected from the floor.

This military posse performed its duty under directions from the governor of the State, and removed from the floor of the house those persons who had been illegally seated and who had no legal rights to be there, whereupon the democrats arose and left the house, and the remaining members proceeded to effect an organization under the State laws. In all this turmoil, in which bloodshed was imminent, the military posse behaved with great discretion. When Mr. Wiltz, the usurping speaker of the house, called for troops to prevent bloodshed, they were given him. When the governor of the State called for a posse for the same purpose and to enforce the law, it was furnished also. Had this not been done, it is my firm belief that scenes of bloodshed would have ensued.

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Lieutenant-General.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, after having read the law which requires that none but persons certified to by the secretary of state as being members of the Legislature shall participate in that organization, I sent to the desk the official report of General Sheridan. That official report is corroborated by the report of a committee of five who have drawn up a memorial and sent it to Congress. It is not only corroborated by that, but is corroborated by the message of the President which has been read at the desk this morning. There, then, are the three official reports made to the Congress of the United States, showing what? Showing that on the 4th of January a body of men assembled in New Orleans and by force organized one house of the Legislature of that State, including five men that the law said should

not be included in the organization of the house. The Lieutenant-General of the Army says that he heard frequent threats. Threats of what? Threats of assassination. Of whom? Of members. For what purpose? For the purpose of giving a majority of that house to the democratic party. It was first understood that there were fifty-three democrats elected and fifty-three republicans. They kidnaped one republican member, conveyed him away across the country, and held him there until the day after that organization had taken place, in order to give the democratic party a majority. And yet these kidnapers and murderers are not to be denounced in this Chamber! They are the "gentlemen" of Louisiana, I presume. After kidnaping a member to give them a majority, they then inducted into office five men having no certificates whatever. What else? In order to show the conspiracy on the part of these white-leaguers and traitors to their government, what do they do? They had some twenty-five men already selected and put in that chamber, with a badge under the lapel of their coats, and on it in gilt letters "assistant sergeant-at-arms." Without any election, without any appointment, they were there on the floor of that house—to do what? To aid in overturning that Legislature and in overturning the State government.

What further? As soon as this revolutionary proceeding occurred by Mr. Wiltz seizing the gavel and taking the chair, by Mr. Trezevant seizing the clerk's desk, and then declaring the house organized to the exclusion of fifty-two republican members who were the majority in that hall at that time, only fifty democrats being present, confusion reigned in the hall, pistols and knives were drawn, and bloodshed was about to occur. What then took place? These democrats, who now stand aghast and tremble at the use of the Army as though Banquo's ghost had made its appearance, passed a resolution and appointed five of their number to wait on the Army and ask him to go into that hall and preserve order that they might proceed with their deliberations. Who? They, the democrats; and when General De Trobriand appeared in that hall the democrats cheered. Cheered what? The approach of the Army into a State Legislature—for what purpose? To keep them in power. They cheered at that; and is it not strange that they did not cheer the second time that he appeared? It makes a difference whose ox is gored. When he appeared and produced quiet on the democratic side, they cheered. Not a word would have been heard on that side of this Chamber if General De Trobriand had installed Mr. Wiltz and sworn him in, and the democratic party had gone on and turned Kellogg out. It would have been, as the Senator from Maryland said the other day, the rising of the spirit of liberty in the people and taking possession of their own rights. But the scene was changed very soon.

Fifty-two republicans having certificates claimed the right to participate in the organization of that house. They were denied that right by this armed mob, by these armed servile tools of the White League, and robbers and murderers of that city who had been placed there for the purpose of awing honest men, awing men who were peaceably inclined. They did do it. What was the result? The result was that Governor Kellogg then ordered General De Trobriand to do what? I have the orders here, and I will read them:

STATE OF LOUISIANA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
New Orleans, January 4.

General DE TROBRIAND, *Commanding:*

An illegal assembly of men having taken possession of the hall of the house of representatives, and the police not being able to dislodge them, I respectfully request that you will immediately clear the hall and State-house of all persons not returned

as legal members of the house of representatives by the returning board of the State.

WM. P. KELLOGG,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
New Orleans, January 4.

General DE TROBRIAND:

The clerk of the house, who has in his possession the roll issued by the secretary of state of legal members of the house of representatives, will point out to you those persons now in the hall of the house of representatives returned by the legal returning board of the State.

WM. P. KELLOGG,
Governor of the State.

It will be seen by these official communications that Governor Kellogg took no action whatever until that Legislature had been attempted to be organized by a mob, until the elected members had been excluded from their right to participate in that organization. What then was left for him to do? He could not with his police force keep order. What then was he required to do? As governor of that State, in my judgment, it was his duty to resort to all the means in his power to restore order to that State and preserve the peace. He then ordered the military. They need not have obeyed him, but they did obey him. What was his order? To clear the chamber, not of members elected, but of the disturbing element, the persons not elected, those who were disturbing the peace and quiet of the organization. What did they do? They went there and did remove the men not elected, and left the men on both sides, democrats and republicans, who had certificates of election, there to organize the Legislature. The democrats withdrew and the republicans organized. These are the facts. No elected member was ejected; no officer rightfully in possession of authority in that house was removed or ejected or overawed in any way whatever. No blood was shed. It was done in a quiet and orderly manner. And for this has Grant, has Sheridan, has the republican party been denounced from one end of this land to the other by clamorous democrats and their allies!

In the first place we see that Governor Kellogg issued this order. Sheridan had nothing to do with it; Grant had nothing to do with it; the Senate had nothing to do with it; but Kellogg must take the responsibility of issuing the order and the troops take the responsibility of obeying the order. There is the responsibility, and there is the whole of it. Your denunciation of President Grant for using the Army in a legislative body goes for naught, for he knew no more about it than you did until he saw it announced in the public prints.

He is denounced in this Chamber as a usurper, as a tyrant, as an oppressor of the South, in regard to a matter that he knew no more about than you did yourselves. But you could not wait until the information came; you could not wait until you could hear the truth; you could not wait to see the facts; you could not wait for the country to hear the facts; you must present a false statement before the country to have a clamor raised before the truth could come, all for political purposes and for nothing else.

Now, sir, without justifying or excusing in any way whatever the action of Governor Kellogg, I say it is his action. He is responsible for it. But I should like to put a few cases to the democracy here, and before I am through I will show that you have indorsed usurpations ten times as strong as this you accuse the military of at New Orleans, and I will show it from the records, not to be disputed.

I ask you what was Kellogg to do with all these things conspir-

ing together to convince him that a revolution was imminent, to convince him that rebellion was rife there in his own State, that his authority would be ignored, that treason would be perpetrated against the State? I ask you what was left for him to do? Must he quietly submit, must he allow an unauthorized mob, without law or authority, to organize itself in defiance of law, and when organized to carry out the treasonable plot against the Government? And what was that? As detailed by a man who was in the conspiracy himself to a member of the House of Representatives, a man once elected or pretended to be to the Senate of the United States, the conspiracy was, if that Legislature were organized with Wiltz at its head, to seize the organization, and then with scaling-ladders, if necessary, to take possession of the senate chamber, inaugurate the McEnery senate which had been out for two years, and then put Kellogg out and install McEnery, and appeal to the democratic party to sustain them in their revolution. That was the conspiracy. These are the facts that will be established—a conspiracy against the government, with an understanding that they would be sustained by the democratic party all over the country, and that then Grant could not possibly undertake to put down or change that government after it was once established.

Let me say here to-day that this raid which has been made in the Senate Chamber, and by the New York press, by the New York meeting before the facts have been placed before the country, bears witness to the fact that there must have been some kind of understanding with somebody that revolution was to be produced in this country for the purpose of overturning the Louisiana State government. I do not say that men in this Chamber understood it. I say no such thing; but men somewhere understood it. There seems to be a kind of spontaneous outburst all over the country on one side against usurpation, based on falsehood carried with the wings of lightning all over this land, when truth refutes every word that has been stated in this Chamber and elsewhere in reference to the organization of that Legislature.

But, sir, I propose to go a little further in my notions than some of my political friends. I believe when a State government is about to be overturned that the State authorities have a right to call to their aid that necessary force which will protect them in their legal authority. I believe the Government of the United States, as a government, has a right to call to its support that necessary force which will subdue insurrection, put down rebellion, and punish treason. I believe that no government can exist unless it has that power, and unless it will at times exercise that power. Why do I believe this? The life of the citizen is the life of the State; the death of its citizens is the death of the State; and war upon its citizens is a war upon the State. There is a God-given right inherent in every man to use such means as may be within his power of employment to protect his own life and his own body from harm. It is a well-known principle in law that if a man menaces me in a threatening manner, with such deadly implements as are calculated to make me believe that he intends to perpetrate bodily harm upon my person or cause death, I have a right to take his life.

Every citizen has that inherent right in him. The State is made up of an aggregation of citizens. Each citizen that becomes a part of that aggregate body takes with him that inherent right. When, then, we are aggregated together as citizens of a State, we as a government or a State have that inherent right, whether expressed on our

statute-books or not, of self-preservation. That inherent right of self-preservation gives to us the right to exercise such power as may be within our command to preserve the life of the State as well as to preserve the life of its citizens. Then, sir, when a State is threatened, when a nation is threatened with revolution, with treason, when its life is threatened, that inherent right that comes from above and not from statute, belongs to it to employ such means as will preserve the life and authority of that State.

If to-day the democratic party were in power in this Senate Chamber, and you, sir, without authority of law were to seize that gavel and demand obedience to your authority, and the republican minority (if they were in the minority) should have around them here all this vast number of men with ribbons on their coats and on them printed "Assistant sergeant-at-arms," in order to help enforce your decrees, and we should thereby overturn the rightful power in this Senate Chamber, I ask my democratic friends what would be their course? They talk about chivalry, they talk about rights, they talk about liberty. Would they acquiesce peaceably and calmly or would they resort to force? Would they not appeal to the President of the United States, and if the President by his own proclamation could not subdue the resistance, what would be the resort? Suppose the galleries here were hissing; suppose the galleries were shouting; suppose they were drawing pistols, knives, and bludgeons for the purpose of enforcing the decrees of the minority; what then would be your course? There is not a man in the Chamber, be he democrat or republican, but would answer, "We would appeal to the armed forces of the country to sustain the majesty of the Senate under the law." And yet you talk about tyranny and oppression!

Now, I will give you another illustration. On the assembling of the next House of Representatives you have a democratic majority. The law of Congress is precisely the same as the law of Louisiana; or, in other words, the law of Louisiana is copied almost verbatim from the act of Congress; and what is that? That the Clerk of the old House of Representatives shall place the names of those members on the roll who have certificates from the governors of their States of their election. Now, suppose that Clerk, being a republican, instead of placing on the roll the names of men having certificates of the governors, so as to give a democratic majority, should place a republican majority on that roll and exclude those having certificates, and in that way organize a republican House of Representatives; what would you democrats say then? Would you say "We will quietly submit; we must yield; they have captured the organization." Is that the way you would talk? No, sir; every democrat in this Chamber would rush to the other House; every democrat in this city would rush to that House. You would appeal to force; you would ask the Army, the Navy, all the power of this Government to restore order and place your party in power where they were entitled to be according to the certificates of the governors of the different States. Do you not know you would do it? Does not every man know you would? And yet you are talking about tyranny and oppression!

I should like to give my democratic friends a little taste of democracy on military usurpation, and I will do it right here. It is very well for us sometimes to look at our own record. It is well for us republicans, when we are talking sometimes and denouncing democrats, to examine our own record. Now let us examine the democratic record of this country as to military usurpation, and see what it will prove. I will commence a good way back and see who is con-

sistent and who is not. I will commence with one of the leading democrats who has lived in this country, Andrew Jackson. Speaking of the battle of New Orleans, when the forces were under the command of General Jackson, we find this statement of facts recorded :

General Jackson was involved in much trouble by the conduct of many civilians during the campaign, who forgot that a dictatorship alone could save the State, which the enemy, had they been victorious, would probably have retained, in spite of the treaty of Ghent, on the ground that the treaty of 1803, by which France had ceded Louisiana to us, was void and of no effect, because she had no claim to the territory she had sold. A Frenchman, M. Louiallier, a member of the Legislature of Louisiana, was conspicuous among the general's enemies, and him the general had arrested on March 5. Judge Hall, of the United States district court, granted Louiallier's petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and was himself arrested and imprisoned and then banished from the city. On March 13 martial law was abrogated by Jackson's order, and Hall returned. General Jackson was then arrested on a charge of contempt of court and fined \$1,000. He refused the offers that were made from all sides to pay the fine, and paid it himself, protecting the court, which could not have stood a moment against his opposition. After his retirement from public life some of his friends requested Congress to refund the amount of the fine. This petition was successful after encountering considerable opposition; and the bill refunding the money, principal and interest, was passed in February, 1844.—*New American Cyclopædia*, volume 9, page 683.

Over sixty years ago General Jackson arrested a member of the Louisiana Legislature right in the city of New Orleans about which this controversy is to-day; he put the judge of the United States court in jail and banished him from the city and declared martial law, for which he was fined \$1,000. That same General Jackson—that same usurper as you would call him now since your patriotism is bubbling out at every pore—you elected President of the United States in a very few years after he had performed this outrageous act. You democrats did that. This deed was done after the British were gone, after they had retired. A member of the Legislature was arrested and taken out of the body, and the judge of the United States court put in jail by the man whom you elected President of the United States; and for no act was he more eulogized afterward by the democracy than for this very act of his. Without saying whether it was right or wrong, I merely give you the fact to show you what you are to-day and what you were yesterday.

Now, I want to go a little further. I want to show you how patriotic and devoted to the Constitution of the United States our pure democratic friends have always been. There occurred a little circumstance in 1854 that probably is worth relating, and I will quote from the history of the country in reference to it. There was a slave, a runaway slave, by the name of Burus, found in Boston, Massachusetts, in May, 1854. Franklin Pierce, the democratic President of the United States, did what? The marines from the navy-yard, the soldiers from Fort Independence, and the militia of Boston, under the order of a democratic President of the United States, entered the city of Boston and arrested this fugitive slave. When slavery was your plank in politics you could take the troops to enter the city of Boston and arrest a slave and return him to the State of Virginia, on a Government vessel, put him in manacles and shackles, and keep him a bondman by the force of the Army and the Navy; but when the Army is used to protect liberty and enforce law you howl as though a set of tyrants were setting fire to your houses! This, Mr. President, was democracy in 1854. It is well enough to use the Army and Navy to enslave men; but when you use the Army to enforce law, when you use the Army to protect the liberty of citizens in a State, it is an outrage, and tyranny, and oppression unheard of in a civilized country.

Now, sir, let us follow this a little further. I am not done with our democratic military records yet. There is another little instance

where the majority of the democrats, when these things were taking place, joined in sustaining the use of the Army there; but while the democrats were sustaining President Pierce, you remember there was a little trouble over in Kansas. In 1856, in the Territory of Kansas, at the town of Topeka, a free State Legislature assembled. President Pierce then issued a proclamation that I will send to the Clerk and ask to be read.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A proclamation.

Whereas indications exist that public tranquillity and the supremacy of law in the Territory of Kansas are endangered by the reprehensible acts or purposes of persons both within and without the same, who propose to direct and control it political organization by force; it appearing that combinations have been formed therein to resist the execution of the territorial laws, and thus, in effect, subvert by violence all present constitutional and legal authority; it also appearing that persons residing without the Territory, but near its borders, contemplate armed intervention in the affairs thereof; it also appearing that other persons, inhabitants of remote States, are collecting money, engaging men, and providing arms for the same purpose; and it further appearing that combinations within the Territory are endeavoring by the agency of emissaries and otherwise to induce individual States of the Union to intervene in the affairs thereof, in violation of the Constitution of the United States; and whereas all such plans for the determination of, the future institutions of the Territory, if carried into action from within the same will constitute the fact of insurrection, and if from without, that of invasive aggression and will in either case justify and require the forcible interposition of the whole power of the General Government as well to maintain the laws of the Territory as those of the Union:

Now, therefore, I, Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, do issue this my proclamation to command all persons engaged in unlawful combinations against the constituted authority of the Territory of Kansas or of the United States, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes; and to warn all such persons that any attempted insurrection in said Territory, or aggressive intrusion into the same, will be resisted not only by the employment of the local militia, but also by that of any available forces of the United States, to the end of assuring immunity from violence and full protection to the persons, property, and civil rights of all peaceful and law-abiding inhabitants of the Territory.

If in any part of the Union the fury of faction or fanaticism, inflamed into disregard of the great principles of popular sovereignty which, under the Constitution, are fundamental in the whole structure of our institutions, is to bring on the country the dire calamity of an arbitrament of arms in that Territory, it shall be between lawless violence on the one side and conservative force on the other wielded by legal authority of the General Government.

I call on the citizens both of adjoining and distant States to abstain from unauthorized intermeddling in the local concerns of the Territory, admonishing them that its organic law is to be executed with impartial justice; that all individual acts of illegal interference will incur condign punishment; and that any endeavor to intervene by organized force will be firmly withstood.

I invoke all good citizens to promote order by rendering obedience to the law to seek remedy for temporary evils by peaceful means; to discountenance and repulse the counsels and the instigations of agitators and of disorganizers; and to testify their attachment to their country, their pride in its greatness, their appreciation of the blessings they enjoy, and their determination that republican institutions shall not fall in their hands, by co-operating to uphold the majesty of the laws and to vindicate the sanctity of the Constitution.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents.

Done at the city of Washington, the 11th day of February, in the year of our [L. s.] Lord 1856, and of the Independence of the United States the eightieth.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

By the President:

W. L. MARCY, *Secretary of State.*

Mr. LOGAN. I ask the Secretary now to read the order of Jefferson Davis, the then Secretary of War, to the forces in Kansas.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

WASHINGTON, February 15, 1856.

SIR: The President has by proclamation warned all persons combined for insurrection or invasive aggression against the organized government of the Terri-

tory of Kansas, or associate to resist the due execution of the laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings; and has commanded them to disperse and return peaceably to their respective abodes on pain of being resisted by his whole constitutional power. If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceedings and the powers vested in United States marshals inadequate for the suppression of insurrectionary combinations or armed resistance to the execution of the law, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose such part of your command as may in your judgment consistently be detached from their ordinary duty.

In executing this delicate function of the military force of the United States, you will exercise much caution, to avoid, if possible, collision with even insurgent citizens, and will endeavor to suppress resistance of the laws and constituted authorities by that moral force which happily, in our country, is ordinarily sufficient to secure respect to the laws of the land and the regularly-constituted authority of the Government. You will use a sound discretion as to the moment at which the further employment of the military force may be discontinued, and avail yourself of the first opportunity to return with your command to the more grateful and prouder service of the soldier—that of the common defense.

For your guidance in the premises you are referred to the acts of 28th of February, 1795, and 3d of March, 1807, and to the proclamation of the President, a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

Should you need further or more specific instructions, or should in the progress of events doubts arise in your mind as to the course which it may be proper for you to pursue, you will communicate directly with this Department, stating the points upon which you wish to be informed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Official copy.

E. D. TOWNSEND,

Adjutant-General.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, it will be seen that at this time, in February, 1856, after President Pierce had issued a proclamation for the disorderly persons in the State of Kansas to disperse, Jefferson Davis, the then Secretary of War, issued an order to the troops in Kansas, putting them under command of the governor of that Territory, to be summoned at his call for the purposes he might require. What followed? Let me read:

Governor Shannon had left the Territory, and Secretary Woodson was acting governor. The latter went to Topeka, and there issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons claiming legislative power under the Topeka constitution from organizing. Colonel Sumner, acting under orders from Washington, entered the house of representatives. The roll was called by the clerk, and this officer remarked that he was about to perform the most disagreeable duty of his life, and that was, the dispersion of the Legislature. He said his orders were to disperse it; and, in answer to Judge Schuyler, he said he should employ all the force necessary to carry his orders into effect. He then entered the senate chamber, and in like manner dispersed that body.—*Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, page 500.

There is a case for you. In 1856, under the orders of the Secretary of War, Jeff. Davis, acting under the authority of the President of the United States, your troops entered the Legislature of an inchoate State, and dispersed one house and then the other. The facts, outside of what I have read, are that Colonel Sumner, afterwards General Sumner, who was killed in battle, trained his artillery on the State-house, stationed his troops at the door, and notified the Legislature that he would use all the force in his power if they did not disperse. They did disperse. That was indorsed by the majority of the democratic party all over this country; but that same democratic party who indorsed that invasion of a Legislature and that dispersion of a Legislature to-day denounce the republican party of the United States—for what? Merely because Kellogg, without the orders of the President, without the orders of the general, put out men who were not members of the Legislature, in order to organize men who were members of the Legislature, in accordance with the laws of the State of Louisiana.

Mr. EDMUNDS. And that at the request of a majority of the Legislature.

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir. He did not do that until fifty-two men, a majority of that house of the Legislature, had signed a petition to him, asking him to use the necessary force to put them in their position and to put the mob out.

Mr. SCHURZ. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. SCHURZ. Does he remember the number of the members of the house of representatives in Louisiana?

Mr. LOGAN. I think the number was one hundred and eleven allowed by law, but the number present was fifty democrats and fifty-two republicans.

Mr. SCHURZ. In that case fifty-two were not a majority of the members elected.

Mr. LOGAN. I will state now, that the Senator may understand me, there were fifty-two members on the republican side and fifty members on the democratic side who met in that hall that morning. The fifty democrats took possession of the hall with the mob that assisted them, but the fifty-two republicans, being a majority of those members present, went in a body and petitioned the governor of the State to exercise his power to put them in that hall. Is that not the fact, I ask the Senator?

Mr. SCHURZ. Is it not also the fact—

Mr. EDMUNDS. First find out whether that is the fact. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHURZ. Is it not also the fact that when the vote on speaker was taken fifty-seven votes were cast, one in blank, and that therefore republicans took part in the proceedings so far?

Mr. LOGAN. Is that the Senator's answer to my question?

Mr. SCHURZ. To what question, if the Senator pleases?

Mr. LOGAN. I ask the Senator if it was not the fact that the records show there were fifty democrats and fifty-two republicans who met in that hall that morning?

Mr. SCHURZ. The record, as far as I understand it, shows that fifty-two republicans went out; but as to the fifty democrats I do not know.

Mr. LOGAN. Well, it is not necessary to have any controversy about these things. I have failed since this discussion has commenced to get the truth out of a solitary man in answer to a question of plain fact that the record presents to the country. Now, it is a fact, and the Senator does know it, that one hundred and two men responded to that roll, fifty democrats and fifty-two republicans, for that has been the record all the time, and the Senator cannot help but know it. But the facts are things that are not wanted here. They petitioned the governor to put the mob out and let the Legislature organize, and that is what he did, and all that he did, and for that Grant is denounced, and Grant knew no more about it than the Senator from Missouri. For that Sheridan is denounced and he had nothing to do with it. For that the republican party is denounced which had no knowledge of it. For that everybody in the republican party generally is denounced as not fit to control or participate in the affairs of this Government.

Sir, it is sometimes a very good thing for us to continue referring to our own record. I have another piece of history here that probably will be of some information to our well-informed democrats who have been talking so loudly about military usurpation. I have shown

you that they elected one President—they elected him twice—who was one of these military usurpers. Let me read a little history about another military usurper, and for the benefit of my friend from Maryland, [Mr. HAMILTON.] I wish he was here. He forgot this the other day, although he is a Senator from that State. Here is a little order that I hold in my hand dated, "Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, Washington, September 12, 1861," addressed to General Banks, a conservative independent member of the next House of Congress:

GENERAL: After full consultation with the President, Secretaries of State, War, &c., it has been decided to effect the operation proposed for the 17th. Arrangements have been made to have a Government steamer at Annapolis to receive the prisoners and carry them to their destination.

Some four or five of the chief men in the affair are to be arrested to-day. When they meet on the 17th, you will please have everything prepared to arrest the whole party, and be sure that none escape.

It is understood that you arranged with General Dix and Governor Seward the *modus operandi*. It has been intimated to me that the meeting might take place on the 14th; please be prepared. I would be glad to have you advise me frequently of your arrangements in regard to this very important matter.

If it is successfully carried out, it will go far toward breaking the back-bone of the rebellion. It would probably be well to have a special train quietly prepared to take prisoners to Annapolis.

I leave this exceedingly important affair to your tact and discretion, and have but one thing to impress upon you, the absolute necessity of secrecy and success.

With the highest regard, I am, my dear general, your sincere friend,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General, United States Army.

Now, what was this order for? To arrest the Maryland Legislature.

Mr. CONKLING. And Maryland had not been declared in insurrection.

Mr. LOGAN. And Maryland had not been declared in secession. General Banks issued his instructions, which I will read, to Lieutenant-Colonel Ruger, commanding the Third Wisconsin Regiment:

SIR: The Legislature of Maryland is appointed to meet in special session to-morrow, Tuesday, September 16. It is not impossible that the members, or a portion of them, may be deterred from meeting there on account of certain arrests recently made in Baltimore. It is also quite possible that on the first day of meeting the attendance may be small. Of the facts as to this matter I shall see that you are well informed as they transpire. It becomes necessary that any meeting of this Legislature at any place or time shall be prevented.

You will hold yourself and your command in readiness to arrest the members of both houses. A list of such as you are to detain will be inclosed to you herewith, among whom are to be especially included the presiding officers of the two houses, secretaries, clerks, and all subordinate officials. Let the arrests be certain, and allow no chance of failure. The arrests should be made while they are in session, I think.

There is the order. The arrest shall be made while they are in session.

You will, upon the receipt of this, quietly examine the premises. I am informed that escape will be impossible, if the entrance to the building be held by you. Of that you will judge upon examination. If no session is to be held, you will arrest such members as can be found in Frederick. The process of arrest should be to enter both houses at the same time, announcing that they were arrested by orders of the Government; command them to remain as they are, subject to your orders.

Any resistance will be forcibly suppressed, whatever the consequences. Upon these arrests being effected, the members that are to be detained will be placed on board a special train for Annapolis, where a steamer will await them.

There is the order of General George B. McClellan, a democrat; there is the instruction of General Banks, an independent member of the next Congress; and there is the arrest of the Maryland Legislature by the order of the general commanding, and you ran him for President the first chance you got afterward. And yet you are vio-

lently opposed to these arrests! How strange it is that all of these arrests, all of these usurpations, all of these outrages heretofore in this country have been committed by democrats and men who have been sustained by democrats, and yet to-day the mere authorizing of men to perform their duty under the law by an officer of the Army has caused one of the greatest commotions that ever was known in the democrat tea-pot in this country!

Mr. President, when I heard the clamor of these gentlemen here a few days ago, I commenced reflecting whether these democrats had ever done any wrong in their lives. I commenced studying, and asked myself, "Is it possible that the republican party have been such violators of law, such criminals as they have been accused of being, and that the democratic party have been pure all their lives without taint or blemish?" You would think to hear them talk in this Chamber that they were saints come down from heaven to minister here among men. Yet we find they are not saints. Yet we find, by examining history somewhat, that they have not been so saintly and pure all the days of their lives as they would make the people believe if the people would believe them. I should like merely to say this in their presence: While you have denounced Phil. Sheridan almost as a barbarian, as cruel, and inhuman, I would like merely to suggest to you that sometimes history does repeat itself. One man was made President for making New Orleans behave itself, and it might make a second.

Next, let me for a moment call the attention of the Senate and of the country to what is going on about us to-day. Our people seem to be alarmed—at what? Not at the action of President Grant, for he has taken no action; but the country is made to believe that he has perpetrated a great wrong; not that any great wrong has been done, but the mere pretense of a wrong for purposes of some kind or other—I know not what they are—which are covered up. Let me ask my democratic friends what they mean by such resolutions as these which I send to the clerk's desk and ask to have read?

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE ON THE LOUISIANA AFFAIR.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, January 9.

The following resolutions were introduced in the senate:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, That the governors of the States composing the United States of America be, and they are hereby, earnestly requested to convene as soon as practicable the Legislatures of their respective States, in order that the States may consult together and advise with each other respecting the late interference of the Army of the United States with the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, and determine simultaneously and promptly what is necessary to be done to defend and preserve the independence and autonomy of the States.

"Resolved, That the governor of this Commonwealth be, and he is hereby, requested forthwith to telegraph these resolutions to the governors of the several States and request immediate replies."

Animated and prolonged discussion ensued, in which a spirit of moderation predominated, leading senators opposing Virginia taking the initiatory movement as a State in this grave matter. It was the general opinion, however, that Virginia should give expression of sentiment through her Legislature in the form of a protest against the action of the General Government in relation to Louisiana, and an appeal to the American people for redress, and also to express the deep and lasting sympathy of the people of Virginia with the people of their sister State of Louisiana. At the conclusion of the discussion the whole matter was laid over and made the special order for Tuesday, at one o'clock.

Mr. LOGAN. Here we have old Virginia resolving that all the governors of the different States shall meet together for consultation—on what? On the outrage perpetrated by the Army of the United States.

on the Louisiana Legislature! Which outrage? The one that was perpetrated by the democrats calling in the military, or the one that was perpetrated by the republicans calling in the military? The one by the republicans, as a matter of course. The other could not be an outrage, because our democratic friends did it. It is only that which we do that is an outrage. I ask what does this mean? What are the governors to meet for? Suppose they conclude that it is an outrage, what do they propose to do? To secede? Is that the object? To go into another rebellion? Is that the proposition? What else do they propose? Sir, I remember well when the same kind of thing started in the South a few years ago. Resolutions were introduced in Southern State Legislatures calling the Southern States into consultation; and what was the result of that consultation? The result was rebellion and bloody war against this Government. What do all these things that now surround us prove to us? Is it for peace they want these governors to meet? Is it to suppress unlawfulness that they want them to meet? Is it to suppress Ku-Klux and White Leagues? If so, we are trying to do that without the governors meeting. Or is it for the other purpose? Is it to organize themselves together to resist the National Government of the United States, and to stand by Penn and his rebellion against the government of the State of Louisiana? Sir, methinks the latter is the purpose; that it is to stand by the insurgents in the State of Louisiana, that thereby a new rebellion may be organized against this Government. We have been told already that the northern people were tired of this thing. We have been told already that the northern people have grown surfeited in reference to this cry and in reference to the administration of these governments. We have been told already that the North was yielding to their clamor and would stand by them. In my judgment the very moment that is proven to the people of this country, there are men, and plenty of them, too, in the Southern States ready, and armed and equipped, to rise in revolt against this Government and seize it and destroy it, as was attempted once before; and this is but the mere outcropping of it in the old State of Virginia in her resolutions.

Ah! but we have been reminded on this floor of the past patriotism of Virginia. We have been told in eloquent strains that Virginia had furnished us a Washington, a Patrick Henry, and a Jefferson. True, but that was a long time ago; the second brood furnished us by Virginia did not equal the first.

I have no hate for these southern people. I would meet them to-day with an affectionate grip of the hand if they would only yield a willing obedience to the laws of the country. But until they do that, I tell them that while the northern people may be beguiled into voting their ticket and may possibly be annoyed until they will let them for a temporary purpose have control of this Government, they must not flatter themselves that they can usurp the powers of this Government and trample under foot the rights of the people, either white or black, for a much longer time, without arousing such a feeling of the northern mind and in the northern heart as will exercise that power silently which belongs to numbers at the ballot-box; and it is the only way they propose to exercise their power or control, and it is the only way that they ever attempted to do so.

Mr. SARGENT. Will the Senator allow me to cite a section of the Constitution showing that the action proposed by the Legislature of Virginia is directly opposed to that instrument and is unconstitutional?

Mr. LOGAN. Certainly.

Mr. SARGENT. It is a clause of section 10, article 1 :

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Mr. DAVIS. One moment. I understand that Virginia passed no such resolution. It was introduced by some member, debated, and laid over.

Mr. SARGENT. I simply said that the action referred to, which was proposed in the Legislature of Virginia, was in violation of the Constitution.

Mr. LOGAN. My friend from California reads the Constitution to show that that action would be in violation of it. That is a matter that we all understand. But at the same time that we know that, that would not interfere materially with Virginia, whether it was unconstitutional or not. [Laughter.]

After discussing all these propositions and probably at more length than I should have done, I have not yet done the subject justice, nor can I. It does not belong to my feeble powers to do justice to this question, to this outrage that has been perpetrated upon the people of this country by falsifying the facts with reference to the conduct of these people within the State of Louisiana.

Some remarks have been made upon this floor peculiar in their strength and strained, I must say, in the manner of their utterance. Our amiable friend from Delaware, [Mr. BAYARD,] who seldom so far forgets himself as to use harsh language toward any one, in his calm and deliberate speech the other day made use of language that I must say aroused somewhat in me a feeling different from that which I desire to have in reference to that Senator, for I have always had great respect for him. He said, in speaking of General Sheridan's dispatch, "Let us see if that man Sheridan is fit to breathe the free air of a republic." He then said his acts were those of cruelty and disgraceful to the American nation. If Sheridan is not fit to breathe the free air of the Republic, I appeal to heaven to name the man in this land who is. If Sheridan, after having done as much perhaps as almost any man beneath the shining sun to preserve this Republic, is not fit to breathe its free air, tell me the name of that living man who is? What are we to infer from such language as this? If a man is not fit to breathe the free air of a republic, he is not fit to hold office under it. If his acts are disgraceful to this country, he is unfit to wear the badge of official position. All this being the case in the estimation of the Senator from Delaware, we have plainly depicted on the canvas that is now moving before us that which will be done when they succeed to power. What is it? When the democrats shall have control with their allies, what shall we expect? Sheridan is not fit to breathe, the free air of a republic; he is a disgrace to the nation; he must go out. Sherman, too, indorsing Sheridan, must go out. Grant must pass away. All the men that helped save the Republic are now a disgrace to the Republic. They must bow themselves out, and you must bow yourselves in. Who bow in? Your Earlys, your Davises, and others of like ilk, your men that tried to destroy the Government by thundering at its gates for four years, trampling the Constitution and laws under foot, violating their oaths as citizens, are to take their places. Is that what you mean? I want to know it now if that is the meaning of the remarks of the Senator from Delaware. Sir, it will be a good while in this country before a little indiscreet remark in a dispatch that has

no force in it, that cannot be executed in any way whatever, will cause the American people to forget the gallantry of a man like Phil. Sheridan. This country will have to be subsoiled and plowed over and the bones of every soldier in this land buried so deep that you cannot touch them before such a man will stand in disgrace for an indiscreet remark in a dispatch. The gentleman who undertook to bury his patriotism, to destroy his fair fame and his fair name by such remarks in this Chamber did not well understand the hearts of the American people.

Mr. BAYARD rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER, (Mr. FERRY, of Michigan, in the chair.) Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Delaware?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BAYARD. I understand that my rights here to comment upon the character of any officer of the United States are secured to me by law, and they are to be exercised by me in my own conscientious discretion. What I have said of this officer was said sincerely, believing it to be true. If he is painted in a light that renders him discreditable to the people of this country, he is drawn so by his own hand. I asked the members of this Senate, and I asked the American people, and I repeat the question, let them read this officer's intent and meaning by his own dispatches, and then ask if he is fit to breathe the free air of a republic; and if he can breathe it and can put into effect the threats contained in his dispatches, then he will be the only man who will breathe the free air, for the rest of us who survive will be the mere slaves of his will. I do not propose to enter into competition with the honorable Senator in his admiration of General Sheridan. I distinctly stated that I had no disposition to detract in the least degree from any portion of his just renown. But whatever may or may not be my admiration of military glory, I do here profess and always shall profess my superior admiration and respect for the power of the law, which the most brilliant soldier should not be permitted to surpass. The liberties of my fellow-citizens are dearer to me than the renown of the soldier who seeks only to smirch the laurels he may have gained heretofore by an assault upon the liberties of his fellow-citizens in Louisiana. His dispatch as read by me was that which I called upon the country to judge him by.

Mr. LOGAN. I do not think I yielded to a speech.

Mr. BAYARD. Well, Mr. President, the honorable Senator has referred to me several times in the course of this debate. I did not desire to interrupt him, as he was making a very earnest speech; but as I had been referred to so often by him, and now again in connection with something like a peroration of that portion of his speech in respect to General Sheridan, I thought it proper just at this time to rise and say what I have said. I ask the American people to let General Sheridan draw his own character by the light of his own dispatches. If they can approve of the recommendation that the President of the United States can drive beyond the pale of the law citizens of any State, and leave them to the short rope and short shrift of a drum-head court-martial, then the honorable Senator may find that they agree with him. If not, as I believe, the great body of the law-abiding sentiment of the people of this country will agree with me in every word that I have said in regard to him.

Mr. LOGAN. I am glad that I gave the Senator an opportunity to repeat what he had said before. It only shows the feeling that there is in the heart. Sometimes when we have said hard and harsh things against a fellow-man, when we have cooling time we retract. If,

after we have had cooling time, the bitterness of our heart only impels us to repeat it again, it only shows that there is deep-seated feeling there which cannot be uprooted by time. I gave the opportunity to the Senator to make his renewed attack on Sheridan. I will now say what I did not say before, since he has repeated the remark, that his attack upon Sheridan and his declaration that Sheridan is not fit to breathe the free air of a republic, is an invitation to the White Leagues to assassinate him. If he is not fit to breathe the free air, he is not fit to live. If he is not fit to live, he is but fit to die. It is an invitation to them to perpetrate murder upon him.

Now let me go further. I announce the fact here in this Chamber to-day, and I defy contradiction, that the democracy in this Chamber have denounced Sheridan more since this dispatch was published than they ever denounced Jeff. Davis and the whole rebellion during four years' war against the Constitution of this country. I dislike much to say these things; but they are true, and as the truth ought not to hurt, I will say them.

But we are told that the people of the South are loyal and true to the Government. We are told by our friend from North Carolina [Mr. MERRIMON] that peace reigns in that State, peace reigns in Georgia, in Alabama, in every State in the South. When you mention here the fact that disorders are existing in Southern States you find Senators jumping up at every corner and saying, "There is no trouble in my State." Our friend from North Carolina says there is no trouble in his State. They did elect a Ku-Klux judge down there, but still they have no trouble. It was necessary probably to protect the rest of the Ku-Klux and therefore it gave peace! My friend from Maryland says, "Give the democrats control of the Southern States and you will have peace, but you cannot have it unless they have control!" I do not doubt that this is true, but what a peace that would be! I have heard that remark before. Do you not remember—sir, I know you do—that some fourteen years ago the only remark was "Let us alone," "Let us alone?" The only remark was, "Do not interfere with us and you will have peace; if you do not make war we will not." This remark of "Let us have the States and we will give you peace" is the cry of men seeking to destroy the Government by insinuating themselves into power, and if they cannot insinuate themselves into power they will use terror, threat, murder, and everything else for that purpose. Give the democracy control and you will have peace, but if they cannot have control they will not let us have peace!

They failed to get control once before and we did not have peace. Because they could not get control they made war. If you will give them control now they will not make war, but if you do not they will. That is about the proposition. How long has it been since we have had this glorious peace in North Carolina? We have peace there now, I admit it. I have not been there but I am told it is true. How long has it been since we have had that peace? But a short time ago men were hanged, men were murdered, men were driven from the country, men were affrighted and alarmed in that State, and armed forces had to be sent there to suppress the Ku-Klux; and the only way it was suppressed, and the only reason why you have peace in North Carolina to-day, is that we tried your Ku-Klux and sent them to the penitentiary; and Grant told you that you had to stop or he would make you do it, and you stopped through fear, not because you desired it. Men talk about always having had peace in their States, when on the trial of these Ku-Klux for their outrages

such language was hardly ever heard as was uttered by the attorney of the Ku-Klux himself. He said their crimes were so atrocious that they were not to be listened to by civilized men, and they came up and confessed their crimes and many were sent to prison, and that gave peace.

But we are told that they have peace in Georgia, and my good friend from Georgia, the Senator farthest from me, [Mr. GORDON,] and he is a good-natured man, says they have perfect peace in their State; that there is no imposition upon voters, there there is no intimidation, everything is lovely; that things are in democratic hands and everything goes on quietly. I do not want to get into any discussion with him, but I believe I am safe in saying—and if he will listen to me and I do not state it correctly I am subject to be corrected—that I believe there was a time in Georgia when they had Ku-Klux in that State. If that is not true, then of course I will take it back. I do not know that the Senator himself ever belonged to them, but there is a little printed information here that might be very good for the country. I want the Senator from Georgia to understand that I do not do this for the purpose of criticising him or making any attack upon him, but I merely wish to read one or two little paragraphs of testimony taken before a committee to see whether his statement that Georgia is such a quiet and peaceable State and always has been is correct. We all know what the Ku-Klux were. The evidence before the country would satisfy anybody what the Ku-Klux organization is, what it was for, what its objects were, and what they did. Now, when this committee was taking testimony, and the chairman of the committee [Mr. SCOTT] is present—if I do not state correctly he can correct me—there was a gentleman sworn before that committee by the name of JOHN B. GORDON, of Georgia. I do not know whether that is the Senator or not, but that is the name given. The chairman of the committee can say, or the Senator can say himself. In speaking about the Ku-Klux the question was asked:

You say that upon that apprehension of danger this organization was founded?

He said it was founded upon an apprehension of danger and for defensive purposes. The testimony then goes on:

Question. In what year was it founded?

Answer. I do not know; I think it was in 1867 or 1868, or along there; it may have been in 1866.

Q. Did I understand you to say that it prevailed over the whole State?

A. No, sir; I supposed it did; I did not know whether it did or not.

Q. What office did you hold in it, if any?

A. I did not hold any office. I was spoken to in regard to holding an office, but I never held any. The organization never was perfected, as I have already stated.

Q. In regard to holding what office were you spoken to?

A. I do not know that it is necessary to answer that question unless you insist upon it.

Q. I insist upon an answer.

A. I was spoken to as the chief of the State. I said very emphatically that upon that line I could be called on if it was necessary. But the organization never was perfected, and I never heard anything more about it after that time.

I only read this language to give the Senator the opportunity of saying whether he belonged to it or not. This evidence would look as though he did. I find this in the report of the investigating committee.

Now, when we say that these Ku-Klux were spread over the State and they were merely for defensive purposes that is all very well, but the country understands what Ku-Klux were just as well if there

were not any witness to state what they were. They know all about the band, about its organization and all about it. Now, further; I may be mistaken in saying that in my judgment our friends South, and I do not blame them for being zealous in their own cause, I find no fault with them for that, but they do not believe there is any turbulence down there, they do not believe there is any bad blood down there; and I will tell you why. My friend the Senator did not believe there was any bad blood in Georgia and does not think there is anything wrong there because these things have continued so long. I remember in the election of 1860 I had a friend, Stephen A. Douglas, who was a friend of mine and I was a good friend of his. In that year he undertook to travel through the State of Georgia. In the town of Atlanta he was insulted, grossly insulted, there in the city of Atlanta, when he was a candidate for President of the United States. When even before the war the people had that feeling toward northern men it is not to be expected that the feeling would be more kind to-day than it was then.

I do not intend to call my friend the Senator to account for anything he said. I much prefer that his State should be in the condition that he says it is. I hope it is. I hope his people are peaceable, that they are quiet and orderly, and loyal to the Government; and I have no right to dispute his word, nor will I; but I have a communication here, from a man who I expect he knows, and I will ask the Clerk to read it. The man has written it, and handed it to me, over his own signature. Of course I am not responsible for it; but he says it is a fact, and gives me the privilege to have it read at the desk, and I will ask that it be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

WASHINGTON CITY, January 12, 1875.

SIR: In obedience to your request, I herewith submit a few facts and circumstances touching the political condition of Georgia, embraced within my knowledge and experience during the last two or three years.

I will begin by making the broad assertion that, no man having republican proclivities or sentiments can acquire or hold any social position in Georgia; that whenever and wherever it is known that a man is a republican, that man is at once proscribed and ostracized by every democratic element, whether found in male or female.

In 1872 I dared to run for Congress in opposition to the nominee of the democratic party. Up to that date my social position in the city of Americus was as high as that of any other citizen. I and my family were invited to all public and private entertainments. Since then we have been pointedly left out in the "cold," and the only reason assigned for it was, that I was a candidate for Congress on the Grant ticket and supported by republicans, but the "feather that broke the camel's back" occurred last summer, when I was nominated by the republican party of my district for Congress. This circumstance alone made my ostracism as perfect as that of Horace Greeley would have been had he gone to Georgia twenty-five years ago. At no moment when out of my office or away from my hotel did I feel that my life was worth a baubee. Threat after threat was received of assassination, riding on rails, and tar and feathers. The entire press of the State heaped abuse and anathemas upon me, and why? Simply because I had accepted the republican nomination. Yet Senators have the hardihood to assert that all is "serene" in Georgia, that republicans are free and untrammelled in the expression of their political opinions, that they enjoy every cardinal principle of constitutional government.

At midnight after my nomination scores and scores of democrats came to my hotel and serenaded me with tin pans, bass drums, tin horns, pieces of old sheet iron, &c., applying to me every kind of insulting epithets. These people were permitted thus to insult justice and right undisturbed by a vigilant police, and the next day were discharged by the mayor of the city when arraigned for disorderly conduct. On the same night these democrats went to the house of B. F. Bell, a republican, with their tin pans and other discordant instruments, serenaded and abused him for being a damned radical in the presence and hearing of a sick wife.

In my district there are between twenty-one and twenty-three thousand voters and my opponent conceded that the republicans had twenty-five hundred ma-

majority; yet there were only between twelve and thirteen thousand votes polled in the entire district, and why? Because the republicans were not permitted or allowed to vote. It was the policy and plan of the democrats not to open the polls at any precinct remote from the court-house precincts where there was a predominance of republican voters, (there being no law in Georgia to compel any person or persons to open the polls.) For instance, at Danville, in my county, and sixteen miles from the court-house, I had requested a large number of my party to assemble for the purpose of voting. The magistrates and other men who were to manage the election, all democrats, delayed the opening of the polls under one pretext and another until three o'clock p. m., the hour for closing the polls in country precincts in Georgia. Then these fair-dealing men would announce it was too late to have an election. It was also too late for the colored republicans to walk sixteen miles to the court-house, but the democrats would mount their horses and gallop to town in time to vote, and, after getting there, boast of their great feat of swindling me out of two or three hundred votes. At Antioch and Florence, in the county of Stewart, I lost one thousand votes in the same way. At Sumterville, in Lee County; at Lick Skillet, in Schley County; and Harrell, in Pulaski, and other country precincts, ranging from sixteen to twenty miles from their respective court-houses, hundreds and hundreds of republicans were deprived of their ballots in the manner heretofore described. For this reason there was a small vote polled in Georgia, and for this reason and others that I will hereafter mention I was defeated for Congress.

In the city of Americus where I live, there was but one place of voting. The ballots were handed to managers through a window. In front of this window the colored voters formed a line and stood throughout the entire day like a stone wall, each one waiting for his turn to vote. The democrats did everything in their power to break their line and scatter them. For instance, they would go among them puffing tobacco smoke in their faces, snatching tickets from them, throwing cayenne pepper among them, persuading, begging, and trying to bribe them to vote the democratic ticket. At least half of the colored voters were challenged, the challengers asking all kinds of silly questions, such as "Are you old enough to vote?" when perhaps the voter was fifty years old. "Have you paid your tax?" when the voter actually had his tax-receipt in his hand. "Hav'n't you got some other name?" and other foolish questions. Indeed, everything was done to delay voting on the part of republicans and kill time until six o'clock. The consequence was scores and scores of colored voters went away without voting, thinking that six o'clock would come before they would have a chance to present their ballots. On the other hand, democratic voters were received by the managers without a moment's hesitation, and there was no democrat challenged or required to show his tax-receipt during the day. My nephew was afraid to vote for me, because he was told that it would injure his business. The employers of my son-in-law were asked and implored by many democrats to discharge him because he voted for me. Many old customers of the house actually declared they would never patronize the house while my son-in-law was connected with it. His whole sin consisted in voting for his father-in-law, as he is and always has been a democrat.

During last September Captain H. L. French (an employé in a large dry-goods store) declared himself an independent candidate for the State senate. His employers told him plainly that they would discharge him if he dared to run against the democratic nominee. Thus the senator from my district was permitted to walk over a course where the republican majority was from twelve to fifteen hundred.

The day after my nomination for Congress Dr. McLeod left my hotel declaring that he could not stay in the same house with a republican. Another boarder (Mrs. Dr. Burt) requested the landlady to provide her another table as she could not sit and eat at the same table with radicals. The result was that a table had to be provided exclusively for my family.

In my town I could give circumstance after circumstance, example after example, by way of illustrating the intense hatred of democrats toward white republicans, and showing the utter and complete proscription of the latter, but I will close the scene on my county after adding that on the second night after the election I was insulted in every conceivable way. The democrats had a torch-light procession, and through transparencies I was caricatured as a hog, an ass, and in various other ways and forms, the whole thing ending by burning me in effigy. Yet, according to the speeches of some men in Washington, Georgia is a free country where every man, of whatever political hue, can express his sentiments undisturbed and unmolested.

On the day of election, in the county of Taylor, the tax-collector refused to receive poll-tax from colored voters who tendered the money, thereby depriving them of their legal right to vote.

In the county of Macon, at the October election, the tax-collector was requested by democrats to close his books and cease receiving poll-tax from colored voters, thereby depriving scores and scores of republicans from voting. In the same county, at Oglethorpe, one colored man was not permitted to vote because he was

more than fifty years old. At Marshallsville, in the same county, a number of colored men who had been residents of the county from two to five months, and who were born in the State and never out of it, were not permitted to vote because they had not been in the county six months, when the law only requires thirty days. These men had lived in the district for years.

In the county of Pulaski, where the republicans number more than one thousand, I received but thirty-two votes. They went to the court-house town for the purpose of voting, but democrats threatened the lives of all men who voted for me, and otherwise intimidated them. Mr. King, the only white republican in the county, advised them not to vote, but to go quietly to their respective homes. In this way hundreds and hundreds of colored republicans were deprived of their right of suffrage at Hawkinsville. In the same county, W. S. Bush, a white republican from the neighboring county of Wilcox, was waylaid, beaten, and prevented from making a speech before the election.

The foregoing pages refer entirely to my district, and I could go on and elaborate at great length, giving other circumstances and facts showing the utter falsity of the assertion that we have quiet and fair elections in Georgia; that peace and harmony prevail there; but time and space admonish me to stop. The most of the facts thus far stated have come within my knowledge and personal experience, and the others are derived from sources whose truthfulness and genuineness I cannot doubt. Therefore I hold myself, to any man, at any time and place, responsible for their utterance.

Respectfully submitted,

General JOHN A. LOGAN.

JACK BROWN.

January 14, 1875.

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, yesterday when the motion was made that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business with my consent, I had very nearly concluded the remarks which I deemed it proper to submit to the Senate on this question. I hope on coming to this question again to-day that I shall not detain the Senate at any very great length. I had gone over the question, so far as the facts surrounding the government of Louisiana at the time of the issuance of his order to the military were concerned, and the action on the part of the military in view of the law under which the Legislature was to be organized, and had referred to all that which I deemed it proper to comment upon in that connection. At the time that I suspended my remarks, however, I had just had read at the desk of the Secretary a communication made to me by a man, a Georgian by birth, a resident of that State at this time, a candidate for Congress on the republican ticket at the last election. Of this man I know nothing save that which I have heard in reference to him here. I am told that he was a colonel commanding a regiment in the confederate army against the Government of the United States; that on that side he proved himself a gallant soldier. This would not in my estimation add anything to his character as a man of honor or a man of veracity; but to my friends on the opposite side it ought not, at least, to be in derogation of his character. Whether the statements made by him be true or false it is not for me to say, but for others to say who have knowledge of the facts. I had the communication read for the reason that we have been told in this Chamber that all was peace and quiet in the State of Georgia. This man asserts to the people of the country that when he was nominated by the republican party he was serenaded that night by the soft and delightful music of tin pans, tin horns, and everything that was calculated to be wholesome and pleasant to him in his dreams. We are told by him that at different precincts in his district negroes were refused the right to vote because they were too old, and it was said they were too old under the law to vote. We are told by him that in divers and sundry instances men with their tax-receipts in their hands were refused the right to vote

at the polls. We are told by him that when the colored people were drawn up in line in front of the polls in order that they might under the law deposit their ballots, pepper was thrown in their eyes, smoke in their faces, tobacco quids were thrown in their faces—every character of annoyance to these poor people was made use of to drive them away from the polls. Yet we are told here that the only friends they have in this country are to be found in the ranks of the democratic party in the South!

Men may talk as they please about peace; they may talk as they choose about rights guaranteed in the Constitution; they may say what they please about the laws being faithfully and honestly administered in those States; but while men are deterred either by improper influences or brute force in this manner, it is not a community of law-abiding citizens where equal rights are protected and observed. While I am on that point in reference to the State of Georgia, I deem it proper for me to call the attention of the Senate to a fact that has been brought to my notice, and a very singular one too. In courts of justice, under the rules of evidence by which men are tried and by which courts are governed and guided in the administration of justice between man and man, circumstances are taken as testimony, when linked together, to prove the rights of parties or to prove the violation of law. I find published in one of the newspapers of the State of Georgia the votes cast at the last election by congressional districts. One of the Senators has taken the pains to compile the number of inhabitants in some of those districts, colored and white, and then to compare the votes, and let the circumstances speak for themselves. Let the facts tell their own tale as to whether men are deprived of their rights in that State or not. •

Statement showing the population and number of votes cast at the late election in the fourth congressional district of Georgia.

Counties.	Democratic vote.	Republican vote.	White population.	Colored population.
Campbell.....	392	.....	6,589	2,587
Carroll.....	1,010	14	10,472	1,399
Chattahoochee.....	290	.....	2,654	3,405
Coweta.....	1,244	1	7,856	5,019
Douglas.....	511	1	(*)	(*)
Harris.....	997	1	5,791	7,493
Heard.....	572	.....	5,218	2,648
Marion.....	379	.....	4,169	3,830
Meriwether.....	1,109	.....	6,387	7,369
Muscogee.....	956	.....	7,441	9,230
Talbot.....	684	.....	4,761	7,152
Troup.....	1,074	.....	6,408	11,224
Total.....	9,218	17	67,746	64,276

* No such county named in Census Report.

I will take the fourth district of Georgia, copied from this paper publishing the returns of the different counties in the various districts. The fourth congressional district of the State of Georgia is

composed of Campbell, Carroll, Chattahoochee, Coweta, Douglass, Harris, Heard, Marion, Meriwether, Muscogee, Talbot, and Troup Counties. In these counties the white population is 67,746; the colored population is 64,276—a difference of a little over 3,000 between the white and colored population. Estimating the voting population as one to seven, that would leave a difference of a few hundred on the side of the white population. We take it for granted at least that out of 64,276 colored people in a congressional district there were certainly some few who would have voted the republican ticket. Now, what was the vote in that congressional district last fall? The democratic vote was 9,218. That is the majority of the white voting population of the district. What was the republican vote? Seventeen in all—all told—out of a population of 64,276 colored and some white voters of the republican party. In one county 14 republican votes, in one 1, in another 1. In eight counties, where there were thousands of colored people, not a solitary vote was cast for the republican party. I desire to know—I ask the question in all candor—can any man stand upon this floor and tell me that there were but seventeen men out of a colored population of 64,000 that were able to vote the republican ticket? If but 17 republican votes were cast, what is the natural inference to be drawn from the facts and circumstances that surrounded those people at that time? There can be but one explanation of it, and that is the secret, silent torture of a threat against these people on account of a desire to preserve their rights and property. They were afraid to exercise the right given to them by the Constitution and the laws of their own country. There is no other inference that can be drawn, there is none other that is fair or just in the premises; and yet we are told day by day on this floor that all is peace and harmony, that no man is molested there, that everything goes on in accordance with justice, in accordance with right, and in accordance with the laws of our country.

I have the votes of some other districts in the State of Georgia as compared with this one that I have just read. The eighth district in Georgia, out of a population almost equal to the one I have given, cast twelve votes for the republican ticket, several thousand for the opposite. Where, let me ask, were all the colored republicans of the eighth district of Georgia on the day of the election? Men may denounce the statement that I made here yesterday, but it proves its own truth by an examination of these returns. When we were told yesterday by a candidate that some of his voters were not permitted to vote, that some were denied on account of their age, that others were denied on account of their locality, that pepper was thrown in their eyes and smoke in their faces and they driven from post to pillar, the polls not opened till a late hour, when none but white people were permitted to vote, do we not know that all these things took place for the purpose of deterring those men from the exercise of that boon which belongs to the American citizen, and that is the right to vote at an election? Sir, I ask you what is citizenship in this country if not the right of selecting by your ballot the men who shall exercise the functions of office under the laws in this land. If that right is denied, I ask you where is the great boast of American citizenship in this country? Once it was said that the proudest thing that could be uttered by a citizen of Rome was that he thanked his God that he was a Roman citizen. Why did he do this? Because in those days the rights that Rome gave her citizens were protected. For that reason the boast went forth of citizenship; but in this country where we boast of American citizenship, I ask you what becomes of the boast if

the greatest right that inheres to the citizen under the laws and Constitution of our country is denied? What is there then for the citizen to boast of?

We are told, however, that in the State of Georgia there are no outbursts showing vindictiveness of feeling, that there is nothing there from which you can draw the inference that there is any but the kindest feeling toward the people of the United States, both North and South, and toward the officials of the United States Government. I do not know why such statements should be made. I cannot imagine why men should assert such propositions on this floor when every day their own newspapers contradict such statements. In order for us to ascertain the facts as to whether the sentiment in that country is as described, I send to the Clerk's desk a newspaper published in Atlanta, the capital of the State of Georgia, where it is presumable at least that the papers are fair representatives of the sentiments of the State, and ask the Secretary to read first the marked editorial on the left, and then to read further as I shall suggest.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE RADICAL PLOT DEVELOPING.—The telegram sent by P. H. Sheridan to the Secretary of War bears all the evidence of being part of a plot hatched by the radical leaders at Washington to provoke an armed uprising in the South. Sheridan deliberately proposes to punish the leaders of the White Leagues by a military commission. Further on Sheridan declares that "it is possible that if the President would issue his proclamation declaring them banditti, no further action need be taken except that which would devolve upon me."

We now look for a proclamation from Grant doing as Sheridan suggests. The situation increases in gravity. Grant is evidently playing a desperate game. He has sent somebody to Louisiana "who will hurt." Now, let Grant declare Ogden, Marr, and the rest banditti, and then we will see who is hurt. If any hanging or shooting is to be done, it is just possible that a braggart and dirty tool of an upstart like Sheridan may ornament a lamp-post quite as rapidly as any White League "ringleader" may grace a gallows.

Mr. LOGAN. Now let the Secretary read in the next column marked.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE LOUISIANA INFAMY.—Like the liar that he is, when General Sheridan arrived in New Orleans he informed several gentlemen who called upon him that there was no truth in the report which stated that he was to take command in Louisiana. He was merely, he said, on his way to Havana with a party of ladies. Our dispatches this morning tell what he is doing in New Orleans. Beaten in their conspiracy to defeat the public will, the radicals appealed to the Federal military authorities. There had not been any disturbance of any character. The Legislature had met and organized by the election of Ex-Mayor Wiltz, of New Orleans, as temporary chairman. Swearing in the members began; the radicals withdrew; and shortly after a body of soldiers entered the chamber, reinstated the radical clerk, and virtually broke up the assembly.

Here Sheridan steps in with another infamous lie on his lips. He telegraphs the Secretary of War that "he regrets to announce a spirit of defiance of all lawful authority, and an insecurity of life." At this writing we have heard nothing further, but we presume that New Orleans is now virtually under martial law, and that the work of infamy has been completed.

And yet we hope to hear a different report. There are twenty-five thousand able-bodied white men in New Orleans. In the same city there are twenty-five hundred Federal soldiers. Admitting that every Federal soldier would consent to fire on the people, they are no match for the citizens. We write it deliberately, that we hope the dispatches will bring us news before we go to press that the streets of New Orleans are barricaded, and that twenty-five thousand freemen are crushing to atoms Sheridan and his horde. There is not a single feeling of animosity in our hearts against the United States as we write. All that we see is the act of infamy, by means of which the people of Louisiana are to be delivered over to scoundrels and despots.

Again and again do we reiterate the hope that the citizens of New Orleans will take up the gage of battle so insolently thrown down to them. Since blood must flow in defense of their liberties, then let the streets of the Crescent City again be the scene of the conflict of patriots against a most infamous usurpation. We pray

it—pray it, as if to God—that there has been no hesitating, no shrinking. Who is Grant, that he should seek to act the part of master of the South? Who is Sheridan, that he should attempt to crush the white people of Louisiana? Is it not time that this tyranny be brought to a sudden end, if it must be so, a bloody end? Can the people of the North blame Louisiana, if in this moment she rises grandly in arms, and hurls off the fetters with which she is about to be bound?

Let the issue be met in Louisiana, and the question of the rights of the Southern States be finally settled. We are heartily tired of the game that is being played in the South. If there ever will be a time for the people of New Orleans to begin fighting in earnest, that time is now. If ever resistance to Federal usurpation was justifiable, it is now. If the time is ever to come for twenty-five thousand white men to demonstrate their strength, that time is now come.

We therefore await the arrival of telegrams informing us that the blow has been struck in earnest.

If President Grant is anxious to provoke a civil war, as he is said to be, it is, perhaps, best to accommodate him at once. We never will have a better reason for an uprising than exists in New Orleans at present. Nothing that Grant may do can more thoroughly unite the freemen of the entire United States than what his tool, Sheridan, has just done in New Orleans. The time for argument, for appeals, for remonstrance, is past. Barricades ought to be the fashion now, with armed men behind them.

Mr. GORDON. Will the Senator allow me to make just one remark? I will not detain him more than a moment.

Mr. LOGAN. Very well, sir.

Mr. GORDON. I only want to say that I have no doubt the editor of that paper was sincere in all he said; I have no doubt he reflected the sentiments of his own heart; but I know full well that he did not reflect the opinions of the people of Georgia; he did not reflect the sentiments of the democratic party of Georgia. He does not pretend to belong to the organization of the democratic party of Georgia. He does not run any paper which claims allegiance to the democratic party of Georgia. He claims to run an independent paper, and he does run an independent paper. He neither supported the democratic nominee in the district in which he lives, nor did he support the democratic nominees in other districts. On the contrary, he supported the opposition in the district just above the district in which he and I both live.

Now, sir, I wish to have read, if the Senator will allow me, a telegram from the governor of my State, who is a democrat and a member of the party. This gentleman who is the editor of that paper I have no doubt is a democrat. He votes, when he does vote, for the democratic party; but his paper disclaims belonging to any organization, and he runs on an independent schedule, responsible for his own utterances, and nobody responsible for them but himself.

Mr. LOGAN. I will say to the Senator that I do not give way to have that telegram read as part of my argument by any means. I will proceed. He will have ample opportunity to read the telegram hereafter.

He says that this man no doubt is a democrat. I do not say that the whole people of Georgia entertain the same sentiments. I have not said so at any time; but I read these articles in this paper to show that some portion of the people of that State do entertain these sentiments. I have read all that I have read to show the circumstances and to show the character of feeling that there is all over that country. Now, I would ask any Senator on this floor, do not the democratic papers all over the South announce nearly the same proposition? Did not the democratic papers all over the South indorse Penn's revolution against Governor Kellogg? Do not the democratic papers of the South to-day defy the powers of this country in reference to the action in Louisiana? If they do not, I have failed to see one that has taken a different course. This one, the Senator says, is an independ-

ent paper; but no doubt, he says, the editor is a democrat. It is immaterial to me whether he be a democrat or an independent, or what he may. He is speaking the sentiment of his locality; or, at least, he pretends to represent the sentiment of his locality. First, he thinks it would be well to hang Sheridan to a lamp-post. I have no doubt that a majority of the democrats in the South in 1863 believed just the same thing, that it would have been well to hang Sheridan; and I have no doubt they believe it now.

But in the conclusion of the second article what does this paper say? I care not whether it is the sentiment of Georgia or not; what I am speaking to is the impression that is being made upon the people of the State of Louisiana. What effect do such articles have upon the twenty-five thousand people in Louisiana who are organized as a White League, when they are told by the public press of the South that it is their duty to barricade the streets of New Orleans; that it is their duty to make war upon the troops of the United States Government, for the purpose of overturning that State government; that it is their duty to let blood flow in the streets of New Orleans, and that, if ever the time has come for that to be done, the time is now? I use it for the purpose of showing that not only the speeches of the opposition but the newspapers tend to work excitement in the minds of those people, to plunge them into bloody revolution, so that then they may be supported by those who stand by them, and, in that way, the country involved in war again. That is the reason why I appealed to these suggestions, to show the effect that is being had and the purposes that these men have in view to stimulate that population which they know is a population almost like a powder-magazine.

If the people of the South and the democrats of the North will but remember for a moment the character of the people of Louisiana, without speaking of them as disreputable people they must know that the white portion of Louisiana, the natives of that State, are an excitable people. We know they are an irritable people. We know that the creole population is a revolutionary people. Wherever they may be found, in Louisiana or elsewhere, they are a revolutionary people. It is well known if any one will examine the history of that kind of population that this is the fact. They being that class of people are as ready to revolutionize against one government as they are against another, unless it is a government that they control. They are of that class of people who themselves must control, whether in the minority or majority, or else they are in favor of revolution against the existing "powers that be." Upon a class of people so inflammable as these people in Louisiana are, I ask what the effect of these editorials and speeches in the same line must be? Naught but to inflame, naught but to excite, and naught but to incite them to bloody deeds of revolution against the country which revolution might become wide-spread and this country all be involved in ruin. It is against these things that I appeal to the country; it is against these things that I am now speaking to the people.

But, sir, passing from the State of Georgia, and I am sure I have said as little about that State and the people of North Carolina as I could under the circumstances and facts, I desire now to call the attention of the American Senate to another State, and that is the State of Alabama. I presume the State of Alabama has been included in the remarks of Senators here when they have been speaking of the peaceful and orderly manner of the people of the South. The other day there was read from a newspaper on the other side of the Chamber evidence of this character in reference to the State of Alabama,

that in one county some eleven colored people had been indicted for murder, the murder of colored men. That was cited to show that the murders perpetrated in that State were murders perpetrated by colored men on colored men. I took a different view of that testimony which was read in the Senate Chamber, although I remained silent. It proved to me this and nothing more, that when a colored man committed an offense he was indicted and punished for it; but when a white man committed an offense he went scot-free. That was the conclusion I formed in reference to this evidence. When a colored man violates the law he must be punished. "Why not," say men of these notions, "why not punish the colored man for murder?" He ought to be; but when I ask you why not punish the white man for murder as well? the difference is this: In the North we respect the lives of all men, colored or white, and if a man commits murder we do not ask the complexion of his victim, but we ask the question of his justification or excuse.

The Senator from Maryland said in his speech "there are disturbances in the South, but there have been murders in the North, outrages in the North." I admit it. I admit there are murders committed in the North and robberies committed in every northern city; but when I admit that, I add that we punish our murderers in the North; we send them to the penitentiary or hang them. Several men have been hanged in the last few months in the Northern States for murder. White men and women are in the State prison for murder to-day. In the Northern States we call murder, murder. In the Northern States, when a man commits murder, we call him a murderer, and we punish him for that offense. The difference is that we hang our murderers or we send them to the penitentiary and call them murderers, and in the South you do not even indict them, but speak of them as men rising up in defense of their liberties.

Before the abolition of slavery who ever heard of a white man being punished for shooting a negro? Nobody. If he shot a negro down he would be liable to an action of trespass for the amount the negro was worth, the same as if the man had shot a horse. He paid the owner of the negro his value, and that ended it. The habit grew so strong that men down there think they have the same right now to murder negroes that they thought they had then. The only difference is that they had to pay for them then, and now they do not.

Mr. MERRIMON. May I interrupt the Senator for a moment?

Mr. LOGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MERRIMON. In my State six months ago two white men were condemned to death for killing a negro, and a republican governor commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life in the penitentiary. There is one case in my own town. There are other cases in my State.

Mr. LOGAN. That is one case. I am very glad to hear of that. It is the first one ever I did hear of. [Laughter.] I will give you cases enough before I am done where they have not been punished or attempted to be punished.

But, sir, I was speaking of including Alabama in this category of States where the people are so subservient to the rules and the decorum of society and the laws of the land. Is Alabama a peaceable State—Alabama with a democratic governor? O, says my friend from Maryland, give the democrats control, and you will have peace. You have a democratic governor in Alabama; Alabama is a democratic State. Now, let us see how quiet it is down there.

For the purpose of satisfying my friends on the other side of the Chamber as to the condition of things in Alabama as to the security

of life and property, I will have read a letter published in an Alabama paper from Judge Keils. Judge Keils is a man of respectability, judge of a court in Alabama. I have met him frequently myself. I recognize him as a gentleman. He is an old man, and here is his letter containing just what he told me out of his own mouth the other night at my house. I ask that it be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

EUFALA, ALABAMA, November 6, 1874.

EDITOR JOURNAL:

I telegraphed you last night that my son Willie was dead. This you must know is almost overwhelming me; I am in poor condition to write. Just at dark, before the counting of votes had commenced at Spring Hill, the crowd rushed into the room and commenced firing at me. When they entered I stepped to the end of the counter, (the election was held in an old store,) pulling Willie behind me to prevent him being shot. Several shots were fired at me, when the lamp was smashed. All was dark then, and Willie and myself stepped behind the counter and sat down under it. A vigorous firing then commenced at the end of the counter, which I thought at the instant were entering the counter and doing no damage. It was at this time Willie was shot, one ball entering the bowels and the other three entering the right thigh. Willie did not flinch or complain, though his hand was on my shoulder while he was being murdered, so that I knew nothing of it till after those (or the one) who murdered him had moved off. If I had known he was being shot I could easily have killed the fellow; but as soon as he moved off Willie said to me, "Pa, let us try to get out; I am shot to pieces." This was the first intimation I had that he was shot. Then I told him to be quiet a little longer. But just then several gentlemen rushed to me and assured me they would protect me, and they did. Then I missed Willie's hand from my shoulder, felt for him in the dark, but could not find him. As he (Willie) told me afterward, some demon seized him by the leg dragged him on the floor, and kicked him. There was such firing and yells that I heard nothing of this brutal dragging and kicking at that time. The mob was yelling "Kill him," "Shoot him," "D—n him," "Kill him," &c. One or two of those who saved me (they were of the better class of democrats) went to see after Willie, found him, and carried him away with the assistance of some colored men. I found him at Dr. Davie's, near by, to which place I was guarded a few minutes after. He, myself, and wife and daughter, who went to Spring Hill at once, as soon as they could get there, were all treated well at Dr. D.'s and by the neighbors.

This was a put up job to destroy the ballot-box, in which there was four hundred and fifty or five hundred republican majority, and murder me. And their treatment in dragging and kicking Willie and telling him as they did, "God d—n you, get out of here," shows that they were quite as willing to kill him as me, because they knew it was not me they were kicking and dragging, although it was dark in the room.

Willie was in his seventeenth year, and a better, high-toned, more honorable boy never lived, I am sure. He did no one any harm. He said to me often during the canvass that he knew I was in danger, and wanted to go with me to republican meetings, and he went with me to most of them. Then he wanted to go with me to Spring Hill to the election, as he did. When some firing was done out in the crowd, and he thought I was in danger inside the room, he said he wanted to come in. The managers consented, and this is why he was in there.

I feel that I can never get over his death.

Yours truly,

E. M. KEILS.

Mr. LOGAN. This man Judge Keils stated to me—and doubtless he stated the truth—that he left his own voting place because his life was not secure at that poll and went to Spring Hill, for the reason that there was a large majority of republican voters there, so that he might be secure. At his own place his life had been threatened, a riot had taken place, and several colored men had been killed that day. But at Spring Hill there were four hundred and fifty majority of republican voters, principally colored men. After the voting was all over Judge Keils undertook to aid or assist, not by force, but in protection of the ballot-box, to watch it, to see that it should not be seized and stuffed. These men came upon him where he was, fired at him, and murdered his son. For what offense? For no offense in the world except that he was a republican and desired that

the votes of this four hundred and fifty majority of colored men should be counted the same as the votes of anybody else. Yet we are told all is peace! Sir, when you talk about murders in the North, let me say we have no such murders as these. Men there exercise their rights of the elective franchise without being murdered. There may be frauds, but men are not murdered for political opinions. But in Alabama, a democratic State, the judge of a court on an election day, desiring the votes to be counted honestly, is fired on and his son murdered by a mob. Accidentally they did not murder him, but murdered his son, only seventeen years old, who was holding on to his father's shoulders in the dark at the time he was riddled with bullets. And we are told these are law-abiding, patriotic people! For this offense nobody was even arrested.

I could give a number of other cases in that State. I do not desire to go through all the statements I have in reference to these different States. It would take me the rest of this day. Having occupied nearly all of yesterday, I have not the time nor have I the physical endurance to stand it. I only instance a few cases in the different States as I pass along to show the feelings of the people there, and that they are not exactly as they have been stated to us. Here is from Alabama a statement of an occurrence of a most recent character. I will read it:

Robert Reed, a member of the General Assembly of Alabama from Sumpter, was called to Mobile last week as a witness before the grand jury of the United States court.

This was a member of the Legislature of that State.

After he was discharged, he went into the city to make some purchases, when he was set upon by three or four white-leaguers of Mobile, who followed him into a store, where the leader asked his name and struck him over the head with a stick, and immediately pistols were drawn, but Reed succeeded in making his escape for protection to the United States court-room? It is understood that those assailing Reed were of the class of citizens of Mobile who furnished the Sumter County prisoners with refreshments while in jail, and their antipathy may have been occasioned by the belief that he was in some way connected with that finding of a true bill against those parties. This assault was made in the broad daylight, and the parties are well known in that city; but at last accounts no arrests had been made. Perhaps the only regret felt is that Reed was not killed, as it is evident that that was their purpose. Yet it is pretended that Mobile is a law-abiding city!

There a member of the Legislature of what you call a sovereign State goes to the United States court on a summons to appear as a witness before the grand jury to testify, and the very moment he leaves the court-room, having testified, he is assailed by your White League ruffians and his life attempted to be taken; and you call these law-abiding citizens! A man cannot even testify against your murderers and your outlaws in your States. Every day the question is put to us "You have the courts, why do you not punish these men?" Here is the reason why they are not punished: If a witness goes, no matter who, to testify against these outrages before a grand jury, his life is not safe for a solitary moment; and yet we are told "You have the courts, and why do you not execute the law." Why, sir, is it not cool for any man on this floor to talk about the execution of law and put it to us "you have the courts and why do you not do it," when neither court nor jury nor witness is safe for a moment in his life and his rights under the laws of this land? I suppose I might be asked the question why could not a man be punished for treason in one of these Southern States during the southern rebellion. It is obvious to everybody. Is there any man so great a fool as not to know that he could not have convicted one of them before a jury or a court either; that the attempt would have been followed by assas-

sination; that you could not convict a man where they were all in sympathy with one another? Do my friends on the other side of the Chamber, when they taunt us with the fact that we have the courts, expect that we can exercise the jurisdiction of the courts or bring men to trial when every man almost of their side is in sympathy with the men who perpetrate the wrongs against the law and by whom the wrong-doer must be tried? Yet we are asked "Why do you not try them?" It would be like trying a Mormon for having seventeen wives before a jury each member of which had five wives! [Laughter.]

I now wish to quote from the President's message in reference to the outrage complained of as having been perpetrated against the Legislature of Louisiana, which I had not on yesterday an opportunity of doing. The President says:

Respecting the alleged interference by the military with the organization of the Legislature of Louisiana on the 4th instant, I have no knowledge or information which has not been received by me since that time and published. My first information was from the papers of the morning of the 5th of January. I did not know that any such thing was anticipated, and no orders nor suggestions were ever given to any military officer in that State upon that subject prior to the occurrence. I am well aware that any military interference by the officers or troops of the United States with the organization of the State Legislature or any of its proceedings, or with any civil department of the government, is repugnant to our ideas of government. I can conceive of no case, not involving rebellion or insurrection, where such interference by authority of the General Government ought to be permitted or can be justified. But there are circumstances connected with the late legislative imbroglio in Louisiana which seem to exempt the military from any intentional wrong in that matter. Knowing that they had been placed in Louisiana to prevent domestic violence and aid in the enforcement of the State laws, the officers and troops of the United States may well have supposed that it was their duty to act when called upon by the governor for that purpose.

Again, I desire to read another paragraph from the President's message for the same purpose that the other was read:

Nobody was disturbed by the military who had a legal right at that time to occupy a seat in the Legislature. That the democratic minority of the house undertook to seize its organization by fraud and violence; that in this attempt they trampled under foot law; that they undertook to make persons not returned as elected members, so as to create a majority; that they acted under a preconcerted plan, and under false pretenses introduced into the hall a body of men to support their pretensions by force, if necessary, and that conflict, disorder, and riotous proceedings followed, are facts that seem to be well established; and I am credibly informed that these violent proceedings were a part of a premeditated plan to have the house organized in this way, recognize what has been called the McEnergy senate, then to depose Governor Kellogg, and so revolutionize the State government.

I have read these paragraphs only to be placed in my remarks. I now desire to call the attention of the Senate in the same connection to certain dispatches that appear with the President's message, which are now official documents before the country. Among these dispatches is the following from the governor, William P. Kellogg, to the Attorney-General of the United States at Washington, September 1, 1874:

Telegraphed you last night regarding Coushatta affair to Long Branch, care of President. If you have not left Washington, please direct operator at Long Branch to repeat. Further information makes the affair worse even than first reported. The six white men killed were all of good character—planters and business men but four of them were northern republicans.

I read this dispatch in support of what I stated yesterday, that these men at Coushatta were industrious, energetic citizens, attending to their own business at the time they were taken out and murdered.

In further justification of what has been said, of what has been

done, and of what may hereafter be done, and in support of what we have said on this floor in reference to the outrages of the South, I ask the reading of an official document here that I presume no one will dispute. We have been told, and right here I want to put it back to the Senator from Maryland [Mr. HAMILTON] and to the Senator from Delaware, [Mr. SAULSBURY,] for if he will allow me to quote from the evidence of an old Delawarean once here in the Senate Chamber, "the whole eyes of Delaware are upon him." He said "this outrage business had performed its office." So did the Senator from Maryland. He laughed at the idea of these outrages being talked about or used any more; the thing had played its part—had become stale. Sir, do murders become stale; does violation of law become stale; does treason against the Government become stale; does rebellion against a State become stale; do robbery, piracy, and blood-letting become stale in this country? Is it the fact to-day that this thing has become so stale that murder can go on day after day, and scores of men be slaughtered as the pigs in a pen that are fattened for that purpose, and we to be told these stories have become stale, these stories are played out? The man who can intimate that murders shall not be spoken of because they are so frequent, and that because of their frequency they become stale, that man but encourages murder. Murders stale! Yes, they have been perpetrated in such a horrible, audacious, outrageous, and damnable manner by your Ku-Klux and White Leagues of the South that the stench of outrage and murder and perjury goes to heaven and cries for revenge for the lives of these innocent victims. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," and not you. The Judge of all good and evil, the Judge of the world, the great Judge that decides by the scales of justice and weighs the right and wrong, will yet judge of these offenses and of the men who encourage them, of the men who perpetrate them, of the men who cover up their bloody and damnable crimes, and that judgment, when it comes, will be one of terror in its effect. I ask for the reading of the dispatch from Louisiana which I send to the desk.

The Secretary read as follows:

[Telegram.]

NEW ORLEANS, January 10, 1875—11.30 p. m.

HON. W. W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities, in all but a few cases, have been unable to arrest, convict, and punish perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant, and Orleans. The general character of the massacres in the above-named parishes is so well known that it is unnecessary to describe them.

The isolated cases can best be illustrated by the following instances, which I take from a mass of evidence now lying before me of men killed on account of their political principles: In Natchitoches Parish the number of isolated cases reported is thirty-three; in the parish of Bienville the number of men killed is thirty; in Red River Parish the isolated cases of men killed is thirty-four; in Winn Parish the number of isolated cases where men were killed is fifteen; in Jackson Parish the number killed is twenty; and in Catahoula Parish the number of isolated cases reported where men were killed is fifty; and most of the country parishes throughout the State will show a corresponding state of affairs. The following statements will illustrate the character and kind of these outrages:

On the 30th of August, 1874, in Red River Parish, six State and parish officers,

named Twitchell, Divers, Holland, Howell, Edgerton, and Willis, were taken, together with four negroes, under guard to be carried out of the State, and were deliberately murdered on the 29th of August, 1874. The White League tried, sentenced, and hung two negroes on the 28th of August, 1874. Three negroes were shot and killed at Brownsville, just before the arrival of the United States troops in this parish. Two white-leaguers rode up to a negro cabin and called for a drink of water. When the old colored man turned to draw it, they shot him in the back and killed him. The courts were all broken up in this district, and the district judge driven out.

In the parish of Caddo, prior to the arrival of the United States troops, all of the officers at Shreveport were compelled to abdicate by the White League, which took possession of the place. Among those obliged to abdicate were Walsh, the mayor, Rapers, the sheriff, Wheaton, clerk of the court, Durant, the recorder, and Ferguson and Renfro, administrators. Two colored men, who had given evidence in regard to frauds committed in the parish, were compelled to flee for their lives, and reached this city last night, having been smuggled through in a cargo of cotton.

In the parish of Bossier the White League have attempted to force the abdication of Judge Baker, the United States commissioner and parish judge, together with O'Neal, the sheriff, and Walker, the clerk of the court; and they have compelled the parish and district courts to suspend operations. Judge Baker states that the white-leaguers notified him several times that if he became a candidate on the republican ticket, or if he attempted to organize the republican party, he should not live until election.

They also tried to intimidate him through his family by making the same threats to his wife, and when told by him that he was a United States commissioner they notified him not to attempt to exercise the functions of his office. In but few of the country parishes can it be truly said that the law is properly enforced, and in some of the parishes the judges have not been able to hold court for the past two years. Human life in this State is held so cheaply that when men are killed on account of political opinions, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than as criminals in the localities where they reside, and by the White League and their supporters.

An illustration of the ostracism that prevails in the State may be found in a resolution of a White League club in the parish of De Soto, which states, "That they pledge themselves under (not) circumstances after the coming election, to employ, rent land to, or in any other manner give aid, comfort, or credit, to any man, white or black, who votes against the nominees of the white man's party." Safety for individuals who express their opinion in the isolated portions of this State has existed only when that opinion was in favor of the principles and party supported by the Ku-Klux and White League organizations. Only yesterday Judge Myers, the parish judge of the parish of Natchitoches, called on me upon his arrival in this city, and stated that in order to reach here alive he was obliged to leave his home by stealth, and after nightfall, and make his way to Little Rock, Arkansas, and come to this city by way of Memphis.

He further states that while his father was lying at the point of death in the same village, he was unable to visit him for fear of assassination, and yet he is a native of the parish, and proscribed for his political sentiments only. It is more than probable that if bad government has existed in this State it is the result of the armed organizations, which have now crystallized into what is called the White League; instead of bad government developing them, they have by their terrorism prevented to a considerable extent the collection of taxes, the holding of courts, the punishment of criminals, and vitiated public sentiment by familiarizing it with the scenes above described. I am now engaged in compiling evidence for a detailed report upon the above subject, but it will be some time before I can obtain all the requisite data to cover the cases that have occurred throughout the State. I will also report in due time upon the same subject in the States of Arkansas and Mississippi.

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Lieutenant-General.

Mr. LOGAN. Now, Mr. President—

Mr. GORDON. I do not want to interrupt the Senator. I understand, however, that there was a remark made by him while I was out with reference to one district in Georgia. If he will permit me, I just want to state that there was no occasion for the casting of any republican votes in that district at all. There was no candidate to cast them for, and therefore it was not necessary.

Mr. LOGAN. No candidate for Congress?

Mr. GORDON. Not in the district to which the Senator referred, where there were only eighteen republican votes cast, as I understand he said.

Mr. LOGAN. Does the Senator say that there was no candidate?

Mr. GORDON. There was no republican candidate at all in the district. It was carried before by a very large majority. There was but one candidate and he was a democrat.

Mr. LOGAN. Which district was that?

Mr. GORDON. The district to which I understand the Senator referred, of which H. R. HARRIS is the Representative.

Mr. LOGAN. The fourth and the eighth?

Mr. GORDON. The fourth is the district I refer to.

Mr. LOGAN. How about the eighth?

Mr. GORDON. In the eighth there was no candidate at all except Hon. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Mr. LOGAN. None at all?

Mr. GORDON. None at all.

Mr. LOGAN. Were there no county candidates?

Mr. GORDON. If the Senator will allow me, I will state that the county candidates had been elected at a previous election. It was a congressional election entirely in our State in November.

Mr. LOGAN. I only give the facts as they are of record, and of course there may be an exception which I know nothing about. I only take that from the record as I find it. I am always ready to be corrected if I am wrong in reference to anything, and I am glad to give the Senator the benefit of his correction, and that part of the statement was made under a misapprehension of the facts.

Now, Mr. President, I want to ask candid, honest, fair-minded men, after reading this report of General Sheridan showing the murder, not for gain, not for plunder, but for political opinions in the last few years of thirty-five hundred persons in the State of Louisiana, all of them republicans, not one of them a democrat—I want to ask if they can stand here before this country and defend the democratic party of Louisiana? I put this question to them for they have been here for days crying against the wrongs upon the democracy of Louisiana. I want any one of them to tell me if he is prepared to defend the democracy of Louisiana. What is your democracy of Louisiana? You are excited, your extreme wrath is aroused at General Sheridan because he called your White Leagues down there “banditti.” I ask you if the murder of thirty-five hundred men in a short time for political purposes by a band of men banded together for the purpose of murder does not make them banditti, what it does make them? Does it make them democrats? It certainly does not make them republicans. Does it make them honest men? It certainly does not. Does it make them law-abiding men? It certainly does not. Does it make them peaceable citizens? It certainly does not. But what does it make? A band of men banded together and perpetrating murder in their own State? Webster says a bandit is “a lawless or desperate fellow; a robber; a brigand,” and “banditti” are men banded together for plunder and murder; and what are your White Leagues banded together for if the result proves that they are banded together for murder for political purposes?

O, what a crime it was in Sheridan to say that these men were banditti! He is a wretch. From the papers he ought to be hanged to a lamp-post; from the Senators he is not fit to breathe the free air of heaven or of this free Republic; but your murderers of thirty-five hundred people for political offenses are fit to breathe the air of this country and are defended on this floor to-day, and they are defended here by the democratic party, and you cannot avoid or escape the proposition. You have denounced republicans for trying to keep the

peace in Louisiana; you have denounced the Administration for trying to suppress bloodshed in Louisiana; you have denounced all for the same purpose; but not one word has fallen from the lips of a solitary democratic Senator denouncing these wholesale murders in Louisiana. You have said, "I am sorry these things are done," but you have defended the White Leagues; you have defended Penn; you have defended rebellion; and you stand here to-day the apologists of murder, of rebellion, and of treason in that State.

I want to ask the judgment of an honest country, I want to ask the judgment of the moral sentiments of the law-abiding people of this grand and glorious Republic to tell me whether men shall murder by the score, whether men shall trample the law under foot, whether men shall force judges to resign, whether men shall force prosecuting attorneys to resign, whether men shall take five officers of a State out and hang or shoot them if they attempt to exercise the functions of their office, whether men shall terrify the voters and office-holders of a State, whether men shall undertake in violation of law to organize a Legislature for revolutionary purposes, for the purpose of putting a governor in possession and taking possession of the State and then ask the democracy to stand by them—I appeal to the honest judgment of the people of this land and ask them to respond whether this was not an excusable case when this man used the Army to protect the life of that State and to preserve the peace of that people? Sir, the man who will not use all the means in his power to preserve the nationality, the integrity of this Government, the integrity of a State or the peace and happiness of a people, is not fit to govern, he is not fit to hold position in this or any other civilized age.

Does liberty mean wholesale slaughter? Does republican government mean tyranny and oppression of its citizens? Does an intelligent and enlightened age of civilization mean murder and pillage, bloodshed at the hands of Ku-Klux or White Leagues or anybody else, and if any one attempts to put it down, attempts to reorganize and produce order where chaos and confusion have reigned, they are to be denounced as tyrants, as oppressors, and as acting against republican institutions? I say then the happy days of this Republic are gone. When we fail to see that republicanism means nothing, that liberty means nothing but the unrestrained license of the mobs to do as they please, then republican government is a failure. Liberty of the citizen means the right to exercise such rights as are prescribed within the limits of the law so that he does not in the exercise of these rights infringe the rights of other citizens. But the definition is not well made by our friends on the opposite side of this Chamber. Their idea of liberty is license; it is not liberty but it is license. License to do what? License to violate law, to trample constitutions under foot, to take life, to take property, to use the bludgeon and the gun or anything else for the purpose of giving themselves power. What statesman ever heard of that as a definition of liberty? What man in a civilized age has ever heard of liberty being the unrestrained license of the people to do as they please without any restraint of law or of authority? No man, no not one until we found the democratic party, would advocate this proposition and indorse and encourage this kind of license in a free country.

Mr. President, I have perhaps said more on this question of Louisiana than might have been well for me to say on account of my strength, but what I have said about it I have said because I honestly believed it. What I have said in reference to it comes from an honest conviction.

tion in my mind and in my heart of what has been done to suppress violence and wrong. But I have a few remarks in conclusion to submit now to my friends on the other side, in answer to what they have said not by way of argument but by way of accusation. You say to us—I had it repeated to me this morning in private conversation—“Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and you will have peace.” Ah, I heard it said on this floor once “Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and your State government will not last a minute.” I heard that said from the opposite side of the Chamber, and now you say “Withdraw your troops from Louisiana and you will have peace.”

Mr. President, I dislike to refer to things that are past and gone; I dislike to have my mind called back to things of the past; but I well remember the voice in this Chamber once that rang out and was heard throughout this land, “Withdraw your troops from Fort Sumter if you want peace.” I heard that said. Now it is “Withdraw your troops from Louisiana if you want peace.” Yes, I say, withdraw your troops from Louisiana if you want a revolution, and that is what is meant. But, sir, we are told, and doubtless it is believed by the Senators who tell us so, who denounce the republican party that it is tyrannical, oppressive, and outrageous. They have argued themselves into the idea that they are patriots, pure and undefiled. They have argued themselves into the idea that the democratic party never did any wrong. They have been out of power so long that they have convinced themselves that if they only had control of this country for a short time, what a glorious country they would make it. They had control for nearly forty long years, and while they were the agents of this country—I appeal to history to bear me out—they made the Government a bankrupt, with rebellion and treason in the land, and were then sympathizing with it wherever it existed. That is the condition in which they left the country when they had it in their possession and within their control. But they say the republican party is a tyrant; that it is oppressive. As I have said, I wish to make a few suggestions to my friends in answer to this accusation—oppressive to whom? They say to the South, that the republican party has tyrannized over the South. Let me ask you how has it tyrannized over the South? Without speaking of our troubles and trials through which we passed, I will say this: at the end of a rebellion that scourged this land, that drenched it with blood, that devastated a portion of it, left us in debt and almost bankrupt, what did the republican party do? Instead of leaving these our friends and citizens to-day in a territorial condition where we might exercise jurisdiction over them for the next coming twenty years, where we might have deprived them of the rights of members on this floor, what did we do? We reorganized them into States, admitted them back into the Union, and through the clemency of the republican party we admitted representatives on this floor who had thundered against the gates of liberty for four bloody years. Is that the tyranny and oppression of which you complain at the hands of the republican party? Is that a part of our oppression against you southern people?

Let us go a little further. When the armed democracy, for that is what they were, laid down their arms in the Southern States, after disputing the right of freedom and liberty in this land for four years, how did the republican party show itself in its acts of tyranny and oppression toward you? You appealed to them for clemency. Did you get it? Not a man was punished for his treason. Not a man ever knocked at the doors of a republican Congress for a pardon who did not get it.

Not a man ever petitioned the generosity of the republican party to be excused for his crimes who was not excused. Was that oppression upon the part of republicans in this land? Is that a part of the oppression of which you accuse us?

Let us look a little further. We find to-day twenty-seven democratic Representatives in the other branch of Congress who took arms in their hands and tried to destroy this Government holding commissions there by the clemency of the republican party. We find in this Chamber by the clemency of the republican party three Senators who held such commissions. Is that tyranny; is that oppression; is that the outrage of this republican party on you southern people? Sir, when Jeff Davis, the head of the great rebellion, who roams the land free as air, North, South, East, and West, makes democratic speeches wherever invited, and the vice-president of the southern rebellion holds his seat in the other House of Congress, are we to be told that we are tyrants, and oppressing the southern people? These things may sound a little harsh, but it is time to tell the truth in this country. The time has come to talk facts. The time has come when cowards should hide, and honest men should come to the front and tell you plain, honest truths. You of the South talk to us about oppressing you. You drenched your land in blood, caused weeping throughout this vast domain, covered the land in weeds of mourning both North and South, widowed thousands and orphaned many, made the pension-roll as long as an army-list, made the debt that grinds the poor of this land—for all these things you have been pardoned, and yet you talk to us about oppression. So much for the oppression of the republican party of your patriotic souls and selves. Next comes the President of the United States. He is a tyrant, too. He is an oppressor still, in conjunction with the republican party. Oppressor of what? Who has he oppressed of your Southern people, and when, and where? When your Ku-Klux, banded together for murder and plunder in the Southern States, were convicted by their own confession, your own representatives pleaded to the President and said, "Give them pardon, and it will reconcile many of the southern people." The President pardoned them; pardoned them of their murder, of their plunder, of their piracy on land; and for this I suppose he is a tyrant.

More than that, sir, this tyrant in the White House has done more for you southern people than you ought to have asked him to do. He has had confidence in you until you betrayed that confidence. He has not only pardoned the offenses of the South, pardoned the criminals of the democratic party, but he has placed in high official position in this Union some of the leading men who fought in the rebellion. He has put in his Cabinet one of your men; he has made governors of Territories of some of your leading men who fought in the rebellion; he has sent on foreign missions abroad some of your men who warred against this country; he has placed others in the Departments; and has tried to reconcile you in every way on earth, by appealing to your people, by recognizing them and forgiving them for their offenses, and for these acts of generosity, for these acts of kindness, he is arraigned to-day as a Cæsar, as a tyrant, as an oppressor.

Such kindness in return as the President has received from these people will mark itself in the history of generosity. O, but say they, Grant wants to oppress the White Leagues in Louisiana; therefore he is an oppressor. Yes, Mr. President, Grant does desire that these men should quit their every-day chivalric sports of gunning upon negroes and republicans. He asks kindly that you stop it. He

says to you, "That is all I want you to do;" and you say that you are desirous that they shall quit it. You have but to say it and they will quit it. It is because you have never said it that they have not quit it. It is in the power of the democratic party to-day but to speak in tones of majesty, of honor, and justice in favor of human life, and your Ku-Klux and murderers will stop. But you do not do it; and that is the reason they do not stop. In States where it has been done they have stopped. But it will not do to oppress those people; it will not do to make them submit and subject them to the law; it will not do to stop these gentlemen in their daily sports and in their lively recreations. They are White Leagues; they are banded together as gentlemen; they are of southern blood; they are of old southern stock; they are the chivalry of days gone by; they are knights of the bloody shield; and the shield must not be taken from them. Sirs, their shield will be taken from them; this country will be aroused to its danger; this country will be aroused to do justice to its citizens; and when it does, the perpetrators of crime may fear and tremble. Tyranny and oppression! A people who without one word of opposition allows men who have been the enemies of a government to come into these legislative Halls and make laws for that government to be told that they are oppressors is a monstrosity in declamation and assertion. Whoever heard of such a thing before? Whoever believed that such men could make such charges? Yet we are tyrants!

[Mr. LOGAN here gave way to allow a message to be received from the House of Representatives, which announced the passage of a bill removing the political disabilities of John Withers, Joseph F. Minter, and William Kearney.]

Mr. LOGAN. Mr. President, the reading of the title of that bill from the House only reminds me of more acts of tyranny and oppression of the republican party, and there is continuation of the same great offenses constantly going on in this Chamber. But some may say "It is strange to see Logan defending the President of the United States." It is not strange to me. I can disagree with the President when I think he is wrong; and I do not blame him for disagreeing with me; but when these attacks are made, coming from where they do, I am ready to stand from the rising sun in the morning to the setting sun at evening to defend every act of his in connection with this matter before us.

I may have disagreed with President Grant in many things; but I was calling attention to the men who have been accusing him here, on this floor, on the stump, and in the other House; the kind of men who do it, the manner of its doing, the sharpness of the shafts that are sent at him, the poisonous barbs that they bear with them, and from these men who, at his hands, have received more clemency than any men ever received at the hands of any President or any man who governed a country. Why, sir, I will appeal to the soldiers of the rebel army to testify in behalf of what I say in defense of President Grant—the honorable men who fought against the country, if there was honor in doing it. What will be their testimony? It will be that he captured your armed democracy of the South, he treated them kindly, turned them loose, with their horses, with their wagons, with their provisions; treated them as men, and not as pirates. Grant built no prison-pens for the southern soldiers; Grant provided no starvation for southern men; Grant provided no "dead-lines" upon which to shoot southern soldiers if they crossed them; Grant provided no outrageous punishment against these people that now call him a tyrant.

Generous to a fault in all his actions toward the men who were fighting his country and destroying the Constitution, that man to-day is denounced as a very Cæsar!

Sherman has not been denounced, but the only reason is that he was not one of the actors in this transaction; but I want now to say to my friends on the other side, especially to my friend from Delaware, who repeated his bitter denunciation against Sheridan yesterday—and I say this in all kindness, because I am speaking what future history will bear me out in—when Sheridan and Grant and Sherman, and others like them, are forgotten in this country, you will have no country. When the democratic party is rotten for centuries in its grave, the life, the course, the conduct of these men will live as bright as the noonday sun in the heart of every patriot of a republic like the American Union. Sirs, you may talk about tyranny, you may talk about oppression, you may denounce these men; their glory may fade into the darkness of night; but that darkness will be a brilliant light compared with the darkness of the democratic party. Their pathway is illuminated by glory; yours by dark deeds against the Government. That is a difference which the country will bear witness to in future history when speaking of this country and the actors on its stage.

Now, Mr. President, I have a word to say about our duty. A great many people are asking, what shall we do? Plain and simple in my judgment is the proposition. I say to republicans, do not be scared. No man is ever hurt by doing an honest act and performing a patriotic duty. If we are to have a war of words outside or inside, let us have them in truth and soberness, but in earnest. What then is our duty? I did not believe that in 1872 there were official data upon which we could decide who was elected governor in Louisiana. But this is not the point of my argument. It is that the President has recognized Kellogg as governor of that State, and he has acted for two years. The Legislature of the State has recognized him; the supreme court of the State has recognized him; one branch of Congress has recognized him. The duty is plain, and that is for this, the other branch of Congress, to do it, and that settles the question. Then, when it does it, your duty is plain and simple, and as the President has told you, he will perform his without fear, favor, or affection. Recognize the government that revolution has been against and intended to overthrow, and leave the President to his duty, and he will do it. That is what to do.

Sir, we have been told that this old craft is rapidly going to pieces; that the angry waves of dissension in the land are lashing against her sides. We are told that she is sinking, sinking, sinking to the bottom of the political ocean. Is that true? Is it true that this gallant old party, that this gallant old ship that has sailed through troubled seas before is going to be stranded now upon the rock of fury that has been set up by a clamor in this Chamber and a few newspapers in the country? Is it true that the party that saved this country in all its great crises, in all its great trials, is sinking to-day on account of its fear and trembling before an inferior enemy? I hope not. I remember, sir, once I was told that the old republican ship was gone; but when I steadied myself on the shores bounding the political ocean of strife and commotion, I looked afar off and there I could see a vessel bounding the boisterous billows with white sail unfurled, marked on her sides "Freighted with the hopes of mankind," while the great Mariner above, as her helmsman, steered her, navigated her to a haven of rest, of peace, and of safety. You have

but to look again upon that broad ocean of political commotion to-day, and the time will soon come when the same old craft, provided with the same cargo, will be seen, flying the same flag, passing through these tempestuous waves, anchoring herself at the shores of honesty and justice, and there she will lie undisturbed by strife and tumult, again in peace and safety. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]





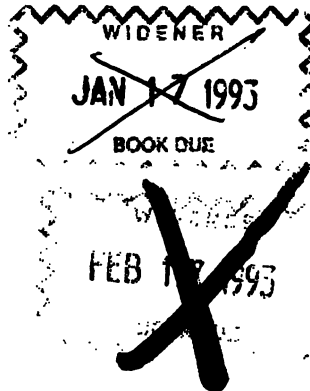
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